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THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI BULLETIN

VOLUME 15

NUMBER 24

SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES 1

THE LOAN OFFICE EXPERIMENT IN MISSOURI, 1821-1836

By

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*Professor of History and Political Science, Southwestern
College, Winfield, Kansas*



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
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The Loan Office Experiment in Missouri, 1821-36

INTRODUCTION

Formation of Missouri State Government.—The territory which is now the commonwealth of Missouri was added to the United States by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. In the same year Congress set up a provisional government for the whole territory known as Louisiana.¹ The year following this vast area was sub-divided. That portion lying west of Mississippi Territory and south of an east and west line, drawn from the Mississippi River at the thirty-third degree of north latitude to the undetermined western boundary of the purchase, was to be known as the "Territory of Orleans," and was to have a regular territorial government of its own; the rest of the purchase was to bear the name "District of Louisiana," and was to be governed by the officers of the Territory of Indiana.² In 1805 the District of Louisiana was separated from the Territory of Indiana and was given a territorial government under the name "Territory of Louisiana." The executive power was vested in a governor, the judicial in three judges, the legislative in both governor and judges—all to be appointed by the President.³

This peculiar form of government continued until 1812, when the territory known as Louisiana was named "Missouri" and its government reorganized.⁴ The executive power was now vested in a governor appointed by the President, the legislative in a General Assembly composed of a legislative council (appointed by the President) and a house of representatives (elected by the people of the territory), the judicial in a system of courts composed of three grades—supreme court, inferior courts, and justices of the peace. Under an enabling act of Congress a constitution was framed in 1820.⁵ The division of the governmental powers of 1812 was continued. The proposed boundaries were the same as those of today, excepting the "Platte Purchase" (Fourth Congressional District) added in 1836. The question of slavery and also that of allowing free negroes to enter the commonwealth soon arose, and their settlement kept the new "state" one year and four months on the threshold of the

1. Act of Congress, Oct. 31, 1803.
2. Act of Congress, March 26, 1804.
3. Act of Congress, March 3, 1805.
4. Act of Congress, June 4, 1812.
5. Act of Congress, March 6, 1820.

union—being finally admitted in July, 1821.⁶ However, the commonwealth records bear date of "1820".⁷

The Debt of the Commonwealth.—When we turn to the financial side of early Missouri history we find that on the whole the management of its public debt has been good and the credit of the commonwealth above reproach. While to other commonwealths the founding of "state" banks was a stumbling block, the Bank of the State of Missouri was well managed and proved an aid to the commonwealth. Even the United States loan of 1837 did not prove so disastrous to Missouri as it did to other western commonwealths. Barring the war debt (which was unavoidable), Missouri has had but two credit schemes: (1) The system of loan offices; and (2) loans to railroad companies. Both were for beneficent purposes but miscarried because of speculation, mismanagement, and crude ideas of credit. Usually the commonwealth government has been very cautious in dealing with public credit. The Bank of the State of Missouri was not established until seventeen years after the adoption of the constitution which provided for such an institution. Occasionally, however, there was lax management on the part of the commonwealth officials; notably in issuing loan office certificates and bonds for the stock of the commonwealth in the Bank of the State of Missouri.

Under the various territorial governments no debts were contracted on the part of the commonwealth. The first loan occurred in 1829, when \$70,000 was borrowed to enable the state to redeem outstanding auditor's warrants and loan office certificates.⁸ The ordinary revenue was insufficient to meet current expenses, and there was a floating debt of \$104,710.62.⁹ The first issue of bonds by the commonwealth was in 1837, when the Bank of the State of Missouri was established—the commonwealth reserving one-half the capital stock for itself. This, together with the issue of bonds to build the capitol, increased the debt to \$412,000.¹⁰ The exact amount of bonds issued to the bank is unknown, but the total sold (more important) was \$362,000.¹¹ Other issues of bonds followed at intervals: To complete the capitol; to make internal improvements; to build a tobacco warehouse; to wage petty wars against Iowa, the Mormons and Indians; and to pay the accrued interest on bonds. By 1846 the public debt had increased to \$957,261.¹²

The most important addition to the debt of the commonwealth

6. Resolution of Congress, March 3, 1821; Act of General Assembly of Missouri, June 26, 1821.

7. Also electors were appointed to the Presidential election of 1820.

8. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, p. 185.

9. Auditor's Report, 1883-4, p. 44.

10. Auditor's Report, 1883-4, p. 65.

11. Auditor's Report, 1883-4, p. 49.

12. Auditor's Report, 1883-4, p. 67.

begins with the loans to the various railroad companies in 1852.¹³ At this time the debt was \$857,000, which was reduced to \$602,000 by 1856—thereafter known as the “old debt” or “state debt proper”.¹⁴ The policy of the commonwealth in aiding railroad companies added \$23,701,000.¹⁵ Before the actual condition of the commonwealth’s credit could be fully known another increase was necessary; this was known as the “war debt,” as the previous addition was designated the “railroad debt.” The indebtedness arising from the prosecution of the war amounted to \$8,464,275.79—mostly floating debt. The total bonded debt in 1865 was \$24,754,000, a high-water mark.¹⁶ Loans have since been contracted for educational and eleemosynary institutions, yet the total indebtedness has decreased rapidly. In 1881 certificates of indebtedness were issued in favor of the school and seminary funds to the amount of \$3,031,000, since bonds to that amount had been redeemed and cancelled in 1881-1882. The actual commonwealth debt vanished in 1905. On January 1, 1913, the school and seminary certificates totalled \$4,398,839.42; to this should be added \$3,500,000 of capitol building bonds, of which \$285,000 have been sold.¹⁷

Division of the Subject.—From this brief survey of the commonwealth debt of Missouri it is seen that the subject naturally divides itself into four periods: (1) From the admission of Missouri into the union in 1821 to the founding of the Bank of the State of Missouri in 1837; (2) from the establishment of the Bank of the State of Missouri to the loans to railroads by the commonwealth in 1856¹⁸; (3) from the loans to the railroads to the war debt in 1861; (4) from the addition of the war debt to the present time. Each period begins with a new and distinct epoch of indebtedness, and each shows a marked increase in the debt over the preceding one.¹⁹ The first precedes, the fourth follows, the time of great activity in the use of credit by commonwealths. The loan office venture was confined to the first period, 1821 to 1836 and this study of *The Loan Office Experiment in Missouri* divides itself naturally under two heads: (1) Character and Purpose; (2) Failure and Termination.

13. This was not regarded as a *debt* for some years.

14. Auditor's Report, 1852; Senate Journal Extra Session, Appendix, p. 235; Auditor's Report, 1856; Senate Journal, Appendix, p. 6.

15. Bonds actually sold. When the commonwealth assumed the indebtedness in 1868, the debt with accumulated interest amounted to \$31,735,840.

16. With a floating debt of \$11,340,908.

17. Auditor's Report, 1911-12, p. 32.

18. These loans began in 1852; since the railroads were expected to repay them quickly, they were not assumed by the commonwealth until later. The only railway to comply with the conditions of the loan was the Hannibal & St. Joseph—repaying the loan of \$3,000,000.

19. The dates of the periods correspond to the inception of the various debts and not to the legislative acts authorizing their existence.

CHAPTER I

CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF THE LOAN OFFICE IN MISSOURI

The revenue of the territory and early commonwealth of Missouri seldom met current expenses; there was frequently, as we have seen, a considerable floating debt. Little attention was paid to this, however, and the only legislative acts of the territorial government that might have created a debt were: (1) That of 1813, creating the Bank of St. Louis, in which the territory of Missouri might hold \$15,000 of the \$165,000 of stock; (2) and that of 1817, establishing the Bank of Missouri, in which the territory might in ten years subscribe \$100,000 of the \$350,000 of capital stock.²⁰ It is a remarkable fact, considering the highly speculative spirit of the times, that the territory took no stock in either of these banks—although both were exceptionally well managed for commonwealth institutions.

The constitution of 1820 said nothing as to the power of the commonwealth to borrow money. However, it provided that the General Assembly might establish one bank with five branches; capital stock to be \$5,000,000, at the highest—one-half of which was to be held by the commonwealth.²¹ As noted above this constitutional privilege was not taken advantage of until 1837, when a new factor was introduced in the commonwealth debt of Missouri—i. e., bonds.

At this point it will be well to notice three peculiar sources of income of the commonwealth, created by the enabling act and specially set apart by the constitution of 1820, for they play an important part in the history of the commonwealth debt: (1) Saline Fund (after 1837 the School Fund), the proceeds of twelve salt springs and six sections of land adjacent to each; (2) Three Per Cent Fund (later the Road and Canal Fund), three-fifths of the five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands in the commonwealth, all of which was to be used for internal improvements—two per cent applied by the United States to roads leading to Missouri and three per cent by the commonwealth on its own highways and future canals (as yet the only hope for inland commerce); and (3) Seminary Fund, the proceeds of the sale of two townships of land to be used for school purposes.²² These three items of revenue are connected with the debt of Missouri only in that their funds were often borrowed to meet

20. *Laws of Missouri, 1804-24*, p. 278 and p. 532.

21. *Constitution of 1820*, Art. VIII.

22. *Act of Congress*, Mch. 6, 1820; *Act of General Assembly*, Feb. 6, 1837; *Act of Congress*, Feb. 17, 1818.

demands on the commonwealth—this sort of indebtedness (one hand owing the other) was common in the early history of the commonwealth. For example, an act of February 13, 1833, authorized the governor to buy in the commonwealth debt (provided that he could get it at par) and to pay for it by borrowing at six per cent from the saline and seminary funds.²³ The same act also empowered him to meet any demands on the commonwealth which exceeded the regular revenue by a loan from these funds at six per cent; this, however, had been done previous to this act.

The condition of the new commonwealth in 1821 was anything but satisfactory. There was only a fringe of settlements along the two great river systems. The rest of its territory was in the possession of roving bands of savages, which were a constant menace to outlying hamlets. The population of Missouri in 1821 totaled 70,647. There were 59,092 whites, sixty of these being bound to service, and 11,555 negroes, 321 of whom were free. Capital and modern implements were wanting. Specie was scarce and almost unknown. The bank notes of sister commonwealths were a treacherous aid and were practically forbidden circulation within the commonwealth.²⁴ This reduced commerce to the basis of barter, and "double coincidence of desire" sounds better than it actually is. As a proof of the scarcity of a circulating medium, note the act of the General Assembly, December 22, 1824, authorizing the auditor to issue his warrants in three denominations: so that as far as possible, one-third were for \$3, one-third for \$5, and one-third for \$10.²⁵ However, the infant commonwealth itself was in a very bad financial way: current revenues failed to meet expenses and the floating debt was constantly growing. Yet the above act is significant, and in its light the previous issue of loan office certificates is not a surprise.

By loans from the various funds the finances of the commonwealth were somewhat improved; these were repaid whenever surplus revenue would permit, but there are no authentic records of these transactions. Yet the absolute scarcity of money was still a great hindrance to commerce and industry as ordinary loans were well nigh impossible, and interest rates excessive. The General Assembly made a further effort to alleviate this monetary stringency. Their way was paved with good intentions. They sought to accomplish two highly desirable ends at one and the same time, namely, to supply a circulating medium, and to furnish loans at reasonable rates of interest. The act of June 27, 1821, established loan offices and authorized the issuing of certificates to the

23. *Laws of Missouri, 1824-36*, p. 409.

24. Notes of nonspecie paying banks could be handled only in sending them out of the commonwealth.

25. *Laws of Missouri, Private Acts, 1824*, p. 12.

amount of \$200,000.²⁶ The original intention was soon diverted and the loan office certificates were issued to redeem outstanding auditor's warrants. The act was benevolent, but unwise; it afforded too many temptations of both a public and private nature. Impecunious governments, as well as individuals, succumb to the lure of cheap money.

The act of 1821 provided for the issue of \$200,000 of certificates, ranging in value from fifty cents to ten dollars. The nature of the security and circulating medium thus authorized can be best expressed by giving the form of a loan office certificate.²⁷

This certificate shall be receivable at the Treasury, or any of the loan offices of the State of Missouri, in the discharge of taxes or debts due the State, for the sum of \$5.00, with interest for the same at the rate of two per centum per annum, from this date, first day of September, 1821.

WILLIAM CHRISTY,
Auditor of Public Accounts.
NATHANIEL SIMONDS,
State Treasurer.

The act further provided that one-tenth of the total of all loan office certificates issued should be withdrawn annually and cancelled. Also, the governor was authorized to receive offers of loans of gold and silver sufficient to redeem outstanding loan office certificates.

To distribute the blessing equally the commonwealth was divided into five loan office districts. The counties of the commonwealth were grouped as follows: (1) First District—Ray, Chariton, Howard and Boone, with office at Chariton; (2) Second District—Lillard, Saline, Cooper and Cole, with office at Boonville; (3) Third District—Ralls, Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Montgomery, Callaway, Gasconade and Franklin with office at St. Charles; (4) Fourth District—St. Louis, Jefferson and Washington, with office at St. Louis; (5) Fifth District—Ste. Genevieve, Perry, Madison, Wayne, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, with office at Jackson. This arrangement of districts and offices sought to accommodate itself to the distribution of population; two districts were north

26. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 760.

27. Auditor's Report, 1883-4, p. 42.

of the Missouri River and three south. Naturally the loan offices were "river" towns. Each office was in charge of three commissioners, appointed by the General Assembly.

The commissioners were to loan the certificates to citizens in proportion to county population. These loans were to bear interest at six per cent and were to be repaid in easy instalments; mortgages were required as security. Not more than \$1000 could be loaned to any one person on real estate, nor more than \$200 on personal property.²⁸ To further aid in the distribution of loan office certificates, circuit clerks were authorized to act as commissioners in order to accommodate parties distant from the loan offices.²⁹ Paternalism was strongly in evidence; in the cases of worthy and needy borrowers, two years' interest might be refunded.³⁰ There seems to have been no suspicion that all was not going well. Other acts of the General Assembly followed in rapid succession. The certificates had been made a legal tender for all salaries and fees of officers civil and military and for salt, in addition to taxes and debts due the government. Ferry-men were compelled to accept the certificates as fare.³¹ An issue of \$50,000 of certificates to redeem auditor's warrants was authorized in 1822.³² The treasurer was empowered to pay off warrants with loan office certificates.³³ To meet the demand for fractional currency, another act provided for \$12,000 in denominations ranging from twelve and one-half to fifty cents.³⁴ Yet there was at times some evidence of caution: the amount to be loaned to one applicant was limited; loans were directed to be repaid in four annual instalments; and \$40,000 of certificates were reserved for disposal by the succeeding General Assembly.³⁵ However, nothing really checked the onward course, and the beneficent project moved with accelerated speed toward its doom. Nothing but a miracle could have prevented the collapse of this well-intentioned scheme, and the age of miracles was long since past.

28. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 863.

29. Laws of Missouri, 1804-1824, p. 909.

30. Laws of Missouri, 1804-1824, p. 863.

31. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 835.

32. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 826.

33. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 863.

34. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 835.

35. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 863.

CHAPTER II

THE FAILURE AND TERMINATION OF THE LOAN OFFICE EXPERIMENT

There was much irregularity in the method of issuing the loan office certificates. The state treasurer's books (he seems to have issued the certificates) show that \$184,788 of securities were put in circulation, while the state auditor's books certify that \$188,647 were redeemed—with several thousand dollars besides in the hands of the agents of the United States at St. Louis.³⁶ Doubtless there was some successful counterfeiting. Very dilatory measures were taken for the redemption of the loan office certificates. There is no evidence that there was even an attempt on the part of the commonwealth officials to carry out the provision of the original act, which provided for the maintenance of a specie reserve to secure the certificates, and for withdrawing them from circulation within a decade.

For eighteen months there was no apparent distrust of the loan office system. But losses from loans on insufficient security, and consequent vexatious litigation, aroused suspicion as to the soundness of the scheme. With the assembling of a new legislature in November, 1822, the plan was attacked. The erstwhile friends of the system failed to defend it, and energetic efforts were now made to correct its absurdities. Fifteen years of legislation was necessary to accomplish this. Borrowers sought to escape payment of notes given in exchange for loan office certificates on the ground that the act of June 27, 1821, was unconstitutional, in that it violated Article I, Section 10, of the Constitution of the United States. Suits begun by the commonwealth to collect these notes were appealed to the United States courts; and the Commonwealth of Missouri was thus made a party to the suits (virtually the defendant), in spite of the spirit of the Eleventh Amendment of the federal constitution.

The loan office project had failed to meet expectations. The commonwealth had sought to aid the pioneer in his battle with the wilderness. Those quickest to borrow were slowest to pay. The beneficiaries had forgotten their gratitude to the commonwealth, along with a lapse in their adherence to the doctrine of "states rights." Consequently the commonwealth of Missouri was a discredited litigant before the Supreme Court of the United States. Meanwhile, the loan office system had become a reproach. The meanest tobacco known to the settlers was called "loan office." The only course open to the commonwealth was to end the vexatious experiment. This it did with credit to itself.

36. Governor Miller's Message, November 16, 1830.

The first legislative act looking to the abolition of the loan office system became a law November 27, 1822. The further issue of certificates was forbidden, and the provision authorizing the treasurer to redeem auditor's warrants by the issue of loan office certificates was repealed.³⁷ Another act followed immediately abolishing the office of loan office commissioner; the books were turned over to the circuit clerks and, to facilitate collections, persons paying eighty per cent of loans were to be discharged of debt.³⁸ Loan office certificates were declared to be no longer legal tender for fees. Having once put the hand to the plow, there was no turning back. Two acts of the General Assembly providing for the final settlement of the discredited venture were passed in 1825.³⁹ Laws of minor importance followed endeavoring to collect loans to individuals by the commonwealth.⁴⁰ Every energy was bent to realize as much as possible on the notes yet held.

However, the commonwealth of Missouri was relieved from further effort. An appeal had been taken to the United States courts upon decisions in the commonwealth courts. The Supreme Court of the United States, at the May term, 1824, in the case of *Mansker et al. versus The State of Missouri* declared that loan office certificates were "bills of credit" and hence violated the Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 10.⁴¹ However, the court held that a borrower of such certificates might not escape his obligation to the commonwealth, because of the decision declaring them unconstitutional. The commonwealth continued its effort at collections, but met with further opposition. Another case came before the Supreme Court of the United States and this time, not only were the certificates declared unconstitutional, but the court reversed itself in part and asserted that any one sued by the commonwealth on a note given in exchange for certificates could plead in defense their unconstitutionality.⁴² Hitherto the principal effort of the commonwealth had been to realize on loans to individuals. This was now impossible.

This decision on the part of the Supreme Court of the United States left the commonwealth of Missouri holding uncollectable notes (exchanged for loan office certificates) to the amount of \$42,896.49, and including estimated interest, the total sum due the commonwealth in 1830 was \$62,896.49.⁴³ However, just previous to the final action of the Supreme

37. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 940.

38. Laws of Missouri, 1804-24, p. 1011.

39. Laws of Missouri, 1825, Vol. II, pp. 512, 516.

40. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, pp. 118, 186, 226, 310.

41. "No state shall . . . coin money, emit bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts."

42. *Hiram Craig et al. v. The State of Missouri*, 4th Peters, (U. S.), 431.

43. Governor Miller's Message, Nov. 16, 1830.

Court of the United States, the commonwealth had taken effective means of ending the loan office tangle by borrowing \$70,000, with which to redeem outstanding loan office certificates. Notwithstanding the fact that the certificates had been declared unconstitutional and hence uncollectable, the commonwealth continued to redeem them. There was no reudiation. This fine example of commonwealth integrity is all the more commendable, since the original beneficiaries proved ungrateful and the certificates were then in the hands of speculators who had bought them up at greatly reduced prices. The treasurer was authorized to proceed at once to redeem all loan office certificates (and auditor's warrants) with accrued interest.⁴⁴ In 1831 an act of the General Assembly barred from redemption all certificates not presented to the treasurer by January 1, 1832.⁴⁵ But, by special enactments, certain loan office certificates were redeemed later.⁴⁶ In all \$188,647 of certificates were cancelled—\$3,859 more than were issued.⁴⁷ Thus did the commonwealth of Missouri keep faith.

The loan of 1829 (\$70,000) to redeem loan office certificates and outstanding auditor's warrants was to bear six per cent interest, payable semi-annually, and was to be repaid in four annual instalments on January 1, 1831, and the three years following. Principal and interest were payable in St. Louis. The placing of this loan is obscure. The act merely authorized the governor to borrow the sum of \$70,000 from any "person, persons, or corporation" at not over six per cent per annum.⁴⁸ There is no hint as to how the loan was negotiated, or as to the form that this instance of commonwealth credit assumed.⁴⁹ Probably the sum was advanced by local capitalists, since it was to be repaid in St. Louis.

This emergency loan (resulting from the loan office venture) was repaid promptly. An act of 1831 appropriated \$17,966.66 to pay off the first instalment, and provided that sufficient deposits should be made in St. Louis by the collectors to pay off future instalments of the loan with accrued interest.⁵⁰ The second instalment seems to have been repaid thus; but special appropriations were made to pay off the third and fourth.⁵¹ The semiannual interest

44. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, p. 185.

45. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, p. 288.

46. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, pp. 456, 495.

47. Auditor's Report, 1883-4, p. 42.

48. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, p. 185.

49. After 1837 more businesslike methods prevailed; an act of the General Assembly, Feb. 2, 1837, established the Bank of the State of Missouri, which became the fiscal agent of the commonwealth.

50. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, pp. 207, 218.

51. Laws of Missouri, 1824-36, pp. 301, 393.

was paid from time to time, according to the act of 1831, and by 1834 the whole loan was repaid. The loan office experiment in Missouri had become history. The well-intentioned but mistaken policy of one session of the General Assembly had necessitated a dozen years of counter legislation and wise administration to terminate its fallacious trend.

No effort has been made in this sketch to point a moral; facts speak for themselves. "Thus terminates a system which must be considered as unfortunate as it was impolitic. It has been a losing business to all, except to the borrowers who are sheltered by the decision of the Supreme Court, and to the speculators who purchased the paper at reduced prices."⁵²

52. Message of Governor Miller, Nov. 16 1830

Appendix

COMMONWEALTH DEBT, 1826-1836⁵³

1826⁵⁴

Auditor's warrants and loan office certificates.....\$140,381.48

1828

Auditor's warrants and loan office certificates..... 104,710.62

1830

Auditor's warrants..... 9,945.85
Borrowed from three per cent fund, Act of Jan. 22, 1829..... 19,369.51
Loan authorized by act of Jan. 23, 1829..... 70,000.00

Total⁵⁵.....\$ 99,315.36

1832

Borrowed from three per cent fund, April 1, 1829.....\$ 19,369.51
Interest on same to Jan. 1, 1833..... 3,273.64
Third instalment of commonwealth loan due Jan. 1, 1833.... 17,500.00
Five months interest on same due Jan 1, 1833..... 437.50
Interest for one year on same, due Feb. 1, 1833..... 1,050.00
Fourth instalment of commonwealth loan, due Jan. 7, 1834.. 17,500.00
Five months interest on same, due Jan. 1, 1834..... 437.50

Total.....\$ 59,568.15

1834

Borrowed from seminary fund, Act Feb. 13, 1833.....\$ 25,621.31
Amount borrowed from saline fund, Feb. 13, 1833 22,904.80
Unredeemed warrants..... 2.03

Total.....\$ 48,528.14

53. Compiled from the Reports of the State Auditor of Missouri.

54. July 1st; but thereafter, Oct. 1st.

55. Cash in treasury, Sept. 30, 1830, \$14,869.69.

1836

Borrowed from saline fund, Act of Feb. 13, 1833.....	\$ 22,904.80
Borrowed from seminary fund, 1833, to pay off loan.....	3,903.75
Borrowed from seminary fund, 1833-4, for revenue.....	20,000.00
Borrowed from seminary fund, Oct. 1, 1834, for revenue.....	10,000.00
Borrowed from seminary fund, Mch. 21, 1835, for revenue....	23,113.07
Interest on borrowed seminary fund to Oct. 1, 1836	7,897.45
<hr/>	
Total ⁵⁶	\$ 87,819.07

56. This may be said to have been paid by the issue of bonds as bank stock in the Bank of the State of Missouri, in favor of school and seminary funds to the amount of \$89,736.40.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI BULLETIN

VOLUME 17 NUMBER 5

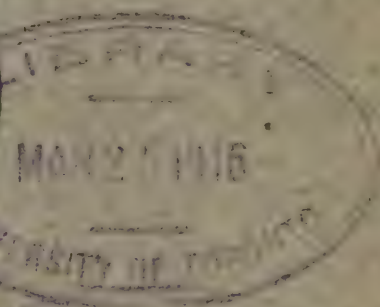
SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES 2

THE MONROE DOCTRINE Its Origin, Development and Recent Interpretation

By

FRANK FLETCHER STEPHENS

Assistant Professor of American History



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THE MONROE DOCTRINE

ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND RECENT INTERPRETATION

I

The greater part of American foreign policy during the past century may be summed up in two phrases: "isolation from the international politics of Europe" and "America for the Americans". These two ideas, gradually developed during the half century after the Declaration of Independence, were given complete recognition in the annual presidential message of 1823. They are known to the world as "The Monroe Doctrine", though the policy which they embody would have evolved just the same had James Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, never lived. Because this distinctive international system, so different from the European balance of power, has become thoroughly identified with the development of our nation, and has been mentioned, amplified, interpreted, and used as a justification for prospective action by American statesmen of all parties, it may be safely called the most enduring, and in fact the only great non-partizan feature of American foreign policy.

In looking for the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, one has to go back to the Continental Congress in 1776, when Benjamin Franklin opposed as poor policy the sending of American agents to seek foreign alliances. He was overruled, and even became one of the agents to conclude the alliance with France in 1778, the first, last, and only offensive and defensive alliance between the United States and a foreign power. The writings of American statesmen during the few years following that event show that occasionally they had a glimpse of the trend American foreign policy was to take. It remained for George Washington to voice this policy so lucidly and succinctly that

it might well be called the "Washington Doctrine". In his farewell address to the American people in 1796 he used the following words:

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise for us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . .

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, . . .

"Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies." ¹

Four years after Washington's retirement, Thomas Jefferson was delivering his first inaugural address. In it he laid down as the essential guiding principle in our foreign affairs, "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." ²

During the next few years similar statements were repeated from time to time by Jefferson, and also by his successors, Madison and Monroe. This developing policy of voluntary exclusion from the affairs of Europe, during the first three decades of our national existence, had as its cause and justification the self-protection of the young republic.

In these statements just quoted, the position was taken that the United States might have peace and commerce without entangling alliances, that if she left Europe alone the frequent Old World controversies would not extend to American

1. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. I, p. 222.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 323.

shores. After the War of 1812 new international conditions arose which demonstrated that this was not necessarily true, and which, therefore, induced the addition of the prohibitive element as applied to Europe, the exclusion of European political influence from the American continent. This is one of the most obvious features of American foreign policy to-day, the one uppermost in the public mind. It is important to know the conditions which gave rise to it.

II

Owing to internal disturbances and the collapse of authority in Spain during the Napoleonic Wars, the Spanish-American colonies were left almost totally in control of their own affairs. Upon the return of the Spanish Bourbons to power, and the attempt to re-establish royal authority over Spanish-America, the colonies refused to return to the old order. Spain, king-ridden and poverty-stricken, could make no headway against rebellion. One after another of her colonies became independent, and established, at least in form, republican governments.

The American people, thinking they saw in the struggle in Latin-America the old battle against European absolutism, were delighted with every success and were especially pleased that the form of the new governments should be modeled after their own. The American government, however, under the lead of the keen Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, followed the policy initiated by Washington in 1793 in maintaining a strict neutrality. It resisted the pressure to recognize the independence of the new republics until after a treaty with Spain was secured by which Florida was acquired, the boundary line between Mexico and the United States delimited, and a claim to the Pacific Coast region north of the 42nd parallel established. Then, and not until then, was recognition accorded.

In the meantime events in Europe were shaping themselves in such a way as to cause uneasiness in America. Under the treaties of 1815, the Quadruple Alliance, comprising the allies which had crushed Napoleon, guaranteed to each of

the lesser states of Europe its territory. The more reactionary European statesmen construed this to mean the maintenance of the existing status of absolute rule, against the new liberal and democratic ideas. Through the influence of Prince Metternich of Austria and Czar Alexander of Russia, the great powers interposed to crush popular uprisings in Italy in 1821 and in Spain in 1823. As to the attitude to be taken toward insurrections in the colonies of European nations, the members of the Alliance were undecided among themselves. It is probable that they could have agreed upon no definite program. Nevertheless, fears were entertained in the United States that the European powers would turn next to Latin-America, conquer the rebellious Spanish colonies, and for the assistance rendered to Spain secure rewards for themselves in the shape of American colonial possessions.³

There was, in addition to this possibility of trouble in the South, a threat to the United States in the Northwest. The Czar had large possessions at that time in the northwestern part of North America. He was, moreover, steadily pushing his claims southward along the Pacific Coast. In 1821 he issued a ukase by which that whole region as far south as the 51st parallel was reserved exclusively for his own subjects. Foreigners were forbidden to approach within one hundred miles of the coast or adjacent islands, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo.⁴

These two dangers apparently threatening the United States meant, first, the end of American expansion westward by Russian expansion southward; and second, the substitution of European absolutism for republican government in Latin-America, entailing the extension of the European system of

3. American writers on the Monroe Doctrine have generally confused the Quadruple Alliance with the "Holy Alliance". The latter was an impractical personal league, a "sonorous nothing" to use Metternich's words, having as its avowed object the administration of governmental affairs according to the principles of justice, charity, and peace. Contrary to the prevalent American opinion at that time and since, the dispatch of Austrian and French armies into Italy and Spain was not the work of the Holy Alliance.

4. U. S. Foreign Relations, 1890, p. 439.

policies, internal and international, to our southern borders. Secretary Adams vigorously combated the Russian claims, and later, in 1824, secured a favorable treaty as to the Northwest.⁵ But in view of the adoption in Europe of the policy of intervention in the internal affairs of nations, the time clearly had come for the United States to promulgate the corollary of its policy of non-interference in European affairs, namely, the non-interference of Europe in American affairs.

III

President Monroe was encouraged in this purpose by advice received from Jefferson, who wrote from Monticello that this was the most momentous question since that of Independence. "Our first and fundamental maxim should be", declared Jefferson, "never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs."⁶ The attitude of England also encouraged the United States, for reconquest of South America would have disturbed English commerce as well as done violence to her growing liberalism. George Canning, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, went so far as to propose a joint declaration by England and the United States against any project for the subjugation of the Spanish-American republics. Monroe was disposed to accept the English invitation, but Adams favored an independent utterance, "rather than to come in", he said, "as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war."⁷ His desire prevailed, and through the medium of the President's annual message in December, 1823, the American policy was proclaimed to the world.

In this message the American policy of aloofness from the internal affairs of Europe, advised by Washington, was reiterated in the following words: "Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal

5. Malloy, W. M., "Treaties, Conventions, etc.," p. 1512.

6. "Writings of Jefferson," Vol. X, p. 277.

7. Adams, J. Q., "Memoirs," Vol. VI, p. 179.

concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.”⁸

Against Russian expansion in the Northwest, the message asserted “as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

To meet the challenge of European intervention, the new danger threatening America, the specific declaration of the expansion of the previous policy of the United States was made as follows: “We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

“It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness: . . . It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.”⁹

Thus the American international system was stated in classic form. Summarizing, it repeated our intention to leave the internal affairs of Europe alone, it served notice that

8. Richardson, Vol. II, p. 207 et seq.

9. Ibid.

America was closed to future colonization, and it erected a barrier against the oppression of Latin-American countries by European powers. After 1823 this policy was almost invariably spoken of as the Monroe Doctrine. It is not altogether a misnomer, but one must bear in mind that while the phrases of Monroe were coined to meet certain specific conditions which have passed away, those phrases also declared a general principle for the future. The ideas announced in the message of 1823 were permanently valuable and with passing time have increased in value. Were this not true the Monroe Doctrine would have lost all significance with the disappearance by 1830 of the Metternich system of intervention.

IV

It is not the intention in this study to register every case in which the Doctrine has figured since 1823. Upon a few occasions, however, interpretations have been given which seemed to widen its scope, and these should be noted in order to understand its present status.

For a number of years after the publication of Monroe's message, American foreign policy occupied little attention. But in President Polk's administration, 1845 to 1849, one of the great expansion periods of American history, came two statements of importance from the White House. First, in the President's annual message of 1845, referring to the dispute between this country and Great Britain over the Oregon territory, and to the possible intervention of European powers as a result of our annexation of Texas, he said, "In the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe, . . . it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."¹⁰ Polk seemed to limit the application of the Monroe Doctrine to North America. But in using the word "dominion" he used a term

10. Richardson, Vol. IV, p. 399.

which includes the acquisition of territory by voluntary transfer as well as by conquest of colonies already established. In the later interpretation of the policy, the limited area idea (*North America*) was rejected, but the enlarged scope idea as represented by the word "dominion" was retained.

President Polk's second statement appeared in 1848 in a special message to Congress relative to the Yucatan peninsula, practically independent at that time from Mexico. Because of inability to cope with Indian insurrections there, its authorities had appealed to Polk for aid and had offered to transfer the "dominion and sovereignty" of the peninsula to the United States. Similar appeals were sent to Great Britain and Spain. In his message dealing with the situation, the President declined to recommend the annexation of Yucatan, but on the other hand declared that according to our established policy "we could not consent to a transfer of this 'dominion and sovereignty' to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power."¹¹ This emphasized the point made in the first message forbidding European acquisition of American territories by voluntary transfer or cession, and it also broadened the interpretation. The first message forbade the transfer of American colonial possessions from one European power to another; this one prohibited independent American governments from transferring their territory to European powers.

The most glaring violation of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine occurred during the American Civil War, when France sent an army into Mexico, overthrew the Republic and established a monarchy. After long negotiations, in which neither the name of Monroe nor the phrase "Monroe Doctrine" were ever mentioned, though the traditional American policy was carefully defined, the French withdrew. The withdrawal did not occur, however, until a veteran American army had been massed on the Texas border.

Nearly thirty years later came the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, a question over which the United States and Great Britain came to the verge of

11. Richardson, Vol. IV, p. 581.

war. This dispute was nearly a century old, but it reached an acute stage at this time because Venezuela broke off diplomatic relations with England, and it involved the United States when Venezuela appealed to this government for support. Early in 1895 the United States proposed that the matter be left to friendly arbitration. Venezuela was willing to accept, but Lord Salisbury, then English Prime Minister, was so dilatory in his reply that Secretary of State Olney categorically inquired whether the British government would submit the whole controversy to arbitration. This dispatch was the first in our history in which the Monroe Doctrine was advanced in a written communication to a foreign government as justification for an intended course of action. Olney declared that the Monroe Doctrine did not establish a protectorate over other American states; that it did not relieve any of them from "obligations as fixed by international law nor prevent any European power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them", but that its "single purpose and object" was that "no European power or combination of powers" should "forcibly deprive an American state of the right and power of self-government, and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies." This principle he conceived to be at stake in the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela because, as the dispute related to territory it necessarily meant "political control to be lost by one party and gained by the other." "To-day," Mr. Olney declared, "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." All the advantages of this superiority were at once imperilled, he affirmed, if the principle that European powers might convert American states into colonies or provinces of their own were admitted. Among the disastrous consequences to the United States of such a condition of things, the loss of prestige, of authority, and of weight in the councils of the nations would be the least. "Our only real rivals in peace as well as enemies in war would be found located at our very doors." ¹²

12. "Foreign Relations," 1895, Part I, p. 545.

Lord Salisbury, in his reply, claimed that the United States was insisting upon a new and strange extension and development of the Monroe Doctrine. He declared also that the reasons justifying an appeal to the Doctrine in 1823 were no longer in force. He refused, therefore, to submit the dispute to arbitration.¹³

Congress being in session at the time, President Cleveland laid the whole correspondence before it, accompanied by a special message containing definite statements as a reply to Lord Salisbury. “. . . the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound,” said the message, “because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures.”

“If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring Republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be ‘dangerous to our peace and safety,’ and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.”¹⁴

Upon the President’s recommendation, provision was made for a specific American commission to investigate the boundary question, but before it could report Great Britain and Venezuela had signed an arbitration treaty under which the boundary was settled. Great Britain was finally awarded most of the territory in dispute, though it is probably safe to say that Venezuela fared better than would have been the case had not the United States interfered. The most important results of the Venezuelan incident, according to John Bassett Moore, were the

13. *Ibid.*, p. 563.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

official adoption of the Monroe Doctrine by Congress, and its explicit acceptance by the principal maritime power of Europe.¹⁵ English writers deny the latter, though they admit it was a bad precedent for England.¹⁶

V

With the year 1898 a new period in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine began. The American public has not at all appreciated that the diplomatic significance to the United States of the Spanish-American war was out of all proportion to its military or naval significance. As a result of that war Porto Rico and the Philippines were annexed, a substantial protectorate was established over Cuba, and American interest in an Isthmian canal was aroused to such an extent that its construction was inevitable. All of these questions intimately affected the status of the Monroe Doctrine. Since 1898, therefore, American diplomacy has had the task of adjusting the great guiding principles of American foreign policy, laid down in our early history, to these new situations. Corollaries of the old principles have been developed and practical applications made to meet new conditions. In this recent interpretation the most prominent figures have been John Hay, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson.

John Hay, who went into the State Department in 1898, once declared that the briefest expression of American foreign policy was "the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule."¹⁷ He did not claim to monopolize for the United States the latter, but of the former at least he was a recognized guardian. One of his first problems was the removal of the diplomatic obstacles in the way of building a canal, obstacles represented chiefly by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. That treaty, a marked exception to the established tradition that the United States would enter into no agreement with European states

15. Harper's Magazine, "Non-Interference and the Monroe Doctrine," Vol. 109, p. 867.

16. For example, H. B. Leech, "The Monroe Doctrine," in the Fortnightly Review, Vol. 78, p. 850.

17. Outlook, Vol. 69, p. 795.

concerning purely American affairs, provided for the complete neutralization of the proposed canal, with no fortifications by either power. The treaty has usually been regarded in this country as a case in which the English ambassador out-generaled the American Secretary, for while it lasted it effectually prevented the construction of any canal at all. Negotiations for its formal abrogation were begun in 1881, and after twenty years of what an English writer has styled "diplomatic persecution,"¹⁸ were brought to a successful termination by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in 1901.¹⁹ This gave to the United States every right that it had ever asked in regard to a canal. It must be apparent to everyone that since the cutting of the Isthmus, our interest in the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine in the Caribbean countries has immeasurably increased. The West Indies have become a highway to the Pacific, instead of a blind alley.²⁰

During the last four years of his administration of the State Department, 1901-1905, Secretary Hay was confronted with other problems in connection with the Caribbean countries and the Isthmus, demanding close attention and careful thought. In working out these problems, he had the entire confidence and approval of his chief, Theodore Roosevelt. Though naturally the two may have disagreed as to some minor details of procedure, they were evidently in full accord as to the general policies to be pursued.

President Roosevelt during his administration earned the reputation of being even more ardent than Mr. Hay in his attachment to the Monroe Doctrine. In his grasp of its fundamental importance and meaning, and his appreciation of the momentous consequences of its various interpretations, few American statesmen have equalled him. In foreign countries he was regarded as its most uncompromising champion. This reputation is probably deserved, as no other public man in America has discussed so frequently and so fully the scope and character of the Monroe Doctrine.

18. H. B. Leech, in *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 78, p. 845.

19. Malloy, Vol. I, p. 782.

20. "American Foreign Policy," by a Diplomatist, p. 82.

Prior to President Roosevelt's administration, the United States had not opposed the temporary occupation of the sea-ports of Latin-American republics for redress on account of torts, insults to flags for instance, or to the ambassador of a foreign country or injuries to its citizens. Thus, in 1895, after several British subjects had been banished from Nicaragua without trial and even with no charges preferred against them, the United States had not objected to the British occupation of the port of Corinto. It was, however, definitely understood that this occupation was to be temporary in character, to be continued only until satisfactory guarantees for the payment of damages had been given.²¹ President Roosevelt dealt with this phase of international relations in his first annual message, December, 1901, when he said, "We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of acquisition of territory by any non-American power."²²

The problem however as to what the United States would do in case of the occupation of Latin-American sea-ports to compel, by the confiscation of the customs revenues, the payment of debts arising out of contract, had not arisen before this time. Such a case appeared shortly after this first presidential message. Germany and England, afterwards joined by Italy, finding diplomacy inadequate in collecting claims against Venezuela, planned to blockade her ports and seize her custom-houses. A year before this forcible collection was undertaken, and while negotiations were still pending, the German ambassador to the United States tacitly recognized American interest in the problem by sending an official explanation of the proposed action to our government. This communication included the following definite statement: "We declare especially that under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory."²³ As if to make this statement even more emphatic, Secretary Hay in his acknowledgement of the re-

21. "Foreign Relations," 1895, Part I, p. 697.

22. *Ibid.*, 1901, p. xxxvi.

23. "Foreign Relations," 1901, p. 194.

ceipt of the note, repeated the identical words used by the German ambassador.

With this assurance our government appeared to be satisfied. In his second annual message, December 2, 1902, President Roosevelt referred to the subject indirectly when he said that no independent nation, maintaining order within its borders and discharging its just obligations to foreigners, had anything to dread from outside interference. By declaring that "all civilized and orderly powers" should "insist on the proper policing of the world," he even seemed to tacitly approve the proposed blockade and punishment of Venezuela.²⁴ Shortly afterward, December 10, 1902, the blockade of the Venezuelan coast began. It lasted only until the middle of the following February, for through the good offices of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bowen, American Ambassador to Venezuela, a compromise satisfactory to all parties was arranged.²⁵

24. *Ibid.*, 1902, p. xxi.

25. This compromise included an arrangement whereby Venezuela agreed to lay aside for payment to her creditors 30 per cent. of the customs revenue collected at her two chief ports. As this arrangement did not distinguish between the blockading powers and non-blockading powers with equally valid claims against Venezuela, the question as to whether the former should have preferential treatment was referred to the Hague Tribunal. According to its decision, rendered February 22, 1904, the claims of the blockading powers were to be paid first. American writers pointed out that this decision placed a premium upon interference by European creditor nations with the poorly managed American republics, for the nation which so interfered first would have its claims paid first. The decision also placed upon each party to the litigation its own costs and an equal share of the costs of the tribunal, and charged the United States with the execution of this part of the decision. This was misunderstood by some American writers, who thought the United States had been made the executor for the European nations of a judgment against Venezuela, and that the court had thus given a "valuable recognition of the Monroe Doctrine." (*Review of Reviews*, Vol. 29, p. 402.) As a matter of fact Secretary Hay afterwards limited the action of the United States to the payment of its own costs and its share of the costs of the tribunal. (See Sen. Doc. 119, 58th Cong., 3rd ses., "The Venezuelan Arbitration before the Hague Tribunal." The award is on pp. 106-110, and Secretary Hay's action on p. 142.)

VI

This Venezuelan incident, comparatively unimportant in itself, was important in the discussion it aroused over the possibilities involved, and in its developmental influence upon the President. The press, European as well as American, pointed out that when the United States gave its consent to the seizure of the Venezuelan ports, provided permanent occupation were not attempted, the word "permanent" went undefined. Examples were quoted from history to show that temporary occupation of a country tends to become permanent, that Egypt, for instance, is held by England to-day on no other ground than because Egypt was unable to pay her debts. This might be the fate of Latin-American republics if temporary occupation by European nations were allowed. "If there is to be any chastising of Central or South American nations after this Venezuelan episode ends," declared one editor, "it will have to be inflicted by the United States."²⁶

President Roosevelt seems to have come to the same conclusion. To allow European confiscation of the revenues of an American state is hardly reconcilable with the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe had declared that the United States could not permit European nations to oppress a Latin-American republic, or in any way control its destiny. Taking the revenue of a country even for a short time might well be termed oppression, and might involve occupation of a more or less permanent character. The President therefore developed that contribution to the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine which has become known as the "Roosevelt Corollary." This in effect provides that in cases of dispute over financial claims of European nations against American countries, the United States shall take possession of the customs houses of the latter, and administer the revenues for the benefit of the American debtor nation as well as of the European creditors. On the other hand, while the territorial integrity of Latin-American states must be respected, they in turn are to be held strictly accountable for the payment of debts and for the protection

26. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Dec. 6, 1902.

of European subjects. Thus, for the first time, there came to be a positive as well as a negative interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, a duty laid upon the American republics as well as a prohibition upon Europe. This duty rested both upon the Latin-American nations and the United States.

It must be understood that the Roosevelt corollary developed gradually through a period covered approximately by the Roosevelt administrations. By reading the presidential messages and speeches during those years, one can see this broader interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine slowly taking form. During the earlier years of his administration, Mr. Roosevelt was especially emphatic in his assurances of the good faith of the United States toward the Latin-American nations. "We have not the slightest desire to secure any territory at the expense of any of our neighbors," he said in his first annual message; and a year later he declared, "No independent nation in America need have the slightest fear of aggression from the United States." After his second annual message, while still disclaiming a policy of aggrandizement under cover of the Monroe Doctrine, the president began to insist more earnestly upon the responsibilities which accompany the privileges of independent states. Thus, in the summer of 1904, reviewing the policy of his administration in supporting the rights of the weaker American republics against foreign aggression, he added that he was losing no opportunity to point out to those republics "that those who seek equity should come with clean hands, and that whoever claims liberty as a right must accept the responsibilities that go with the exercise of that right."²⁷

One might naturally ask what the consequences of a failure to recognize those responsibilities would be. The answer to this question appeared five months later in Mr. Roosevelt's fourth annual message, when he suggested that chronic wrong-doing might ultimately require intervention by other nations, and that in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine might force the

27. In his Letter of Acceptance of the Republican Nomination for President.

United States in flagrant cases "to the exercise of an international police power."²⁸ A few days later, Secretary of War Root, speaking before the New England Society of New York and speaking evidently with the approval of his chief, amplified this statement in the following way: "The declaration of the President of the United States is that what we will not permit the great powers of Europe to do on this continent, we will not permit any American republics to make it necessary for the great powers of Europe to do. The obligation of civilization to see that right and justice are done by these republics, which we protect with our strong arm against oppression by the other powers of the world, is an obligation that must always go with the right that we assert."²⁹

Thus it is clear that the "obligation" contained in the Roosevelt corollary is one resting upon the United States as well as upon the Latin-American republics; the latter must observe the responsibilities which are inseparable with independence, and the former must be the executor of civilization upon the American continent.³⁰ Mr. Root did not say, nor did President Roosevelt, how this obligation would be enforced. According to the practice of nations, a state answers for its good behavior ultimately by its territorial sovereignty, but in the case of Latin-America the territory is inviolable under the Monroe Doctrine. Therefore when world powers are told that they shall not push their remedies for wrong to the point of occupying American territory, it is the Rooseveltian inference that the United States will see that the wrong is redressed in some other way. This country must assume a certain responsibility. It must in some way supply the accountability. It does not claim sovereignty over its neighbors, but simply the right

28. "Foreign Relations," 1904, p. xli.

29. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 49, p. 528.

30. Authorities in international law years before had predicted that the trend in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine would lead to this end. Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey pointed out in December, 1902, apropos of the Venezuelan affair, the constant danger that this country's control over American affairs would grow to be such that it could not escape a corresponding responsibility. (Independent, Vol. 54, p. 2991.)

to interfere in their behalf against European creditors. After all, that is not far from a claim of suzerainty over all Latin-American republics, for if the United States has a right to interfere in their foreign relations they have lost some of the attributes of sovereignty.

VII

The positive implication of the Roosevelt corollary (compulsion by the United States of the strict accountability of American republics for the payment of their debts) has never been fully developed, though precedents have already occurred. Such a precedent was the financial receivership established over Santo Domingo in 1905.

The history of the national finances of that pseudo-republic is not relevant to this discussion. It is sufficient to note that by 1905, Santo Domingo, totally bankrupt, was being threatened by European creditors. Upon its own request, a treaty was concluded giving the United States control over the customs duties till the debts were paid. President Roosevelt's message to the Senate, February 7, 1905, transmitting this treaty, showed clearly how carefully he had developed his theories of the direction American foreign policy should take. The message also stated in compact form the American justification for interference with the affairs of a neighboring state.

"It has for some time been obvious", the President wrote, "that those who profit by the Monroe doctrine must accept certain responsibilities along with the rights which it confers; and that the same statement applies to those who uphold the doctrine. . . . The justification for the United States taking this burden [the financial rehabilitation of the Dominican republic] and incurring this responsibility is to be found in the fact that it is incompatible with international equity for the United States to refuse to allow other powers to take the only means at their disposal of satisfying the claims of their creditors and yet to refuse, itself, to take any such steps.

"An aggrieved nation can without interfering with the Monroe doctrine take what action it sees fit in the adjustment of its disputes with American States, provided that action does not take the shape of interference with that form of government

or of the despoilment of their territory under any disguise. But, short of this, when the question is one of money claim, the only way which remains, finally, to collect it is a blockade, or bombardment, or the seizure of the custom-houses, and this means, as has been said above, what is in effect a possession, even though only a temporary possession, of territory. The United States thus becomes a party in interest, because under the Monroe doctrine it cannot see any European power seize and permanently occupy the territory of one of these republics; and yet such seizure of territory, disguised or undisguised, may eventually offer the only way in which the power in question can collect any debts, unless there is interference on the part of the United States."³¹

The preamble to the treaty, which described American intervention as a legitimate outcome of the Monroe Doctrine, was stricken out by the Senate, which afterwards adjourned without taking action upon the treaty itself. This was hailed by the opposition press as a deliberate refusal of the Senate to accept Mr. Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.³²

The following August, at Lake Chautauqua, New York, the President delivered an address in which chief attention was devoted to American foreign policy. He took the ground that our traditional policy was meeting with recognition abroad because we had not allowed it to become fossilized, but had adapted our construction of it to meet the changing needs of America. If a republic to the south of us committed a tort against a foreign nation, he said, the Monroe Doctrine did not force us to interfere to prevent punishment, except to forbid territorial occupation of the offending country. As to cases involving the failure to meet contractual obligations, the United States had never enforced the demands of its own citizens by an appeal to arms. Some foreign nations had not been so considerate, but before we object to their forcible interference, we ought to try to bring about some plan by which the just obligations shall be paid. "Personally, I should always prefer to see this country step in and put through such an arrange-

31. "Foreign Relations," 1905, p. 335.

32. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 49, p. 528.

ment rather than let any foreign country undertake it. I do not want to see any foreign power take possession permanently or temporarily of the custom-houses of an American republic in order to enforce its obligations, and the alternative may at any time be that we shall be forced to do so ourselves.”³³

The annual message of December, 1905, gave a lengthy discussion of the Monroe Doctrine and the Santo Domingo treaty, much of which was a repetition word for word of the Chautauqua address of the previous August. On the point of European enforcement of contractual obligations it was even more specific and emphatic, and ran as follows: “. . . it is very inadvisable to permit any foreign power to take possession, even temporarily, of the custom-houses of an American Republic to enforce the payment of its obligations; for such temporary occupation might turn into a permanent occupation.”³⁴

This represents the reverse of the attitude taken by the administration in its correspondence with the German ambassador over Venezuela in 1901, and is a measure of the distance traversed in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine from 1901 to 1905. In the meantime a temporary executive arrangement with the Dominican republic provided for the collection of its customs under the supervision of the United States, and for the reservation of 55 per cent. of the receipts for foreign creditors. Although the United States Senate never ratified the treaty of 1905, a convention concluded February 8, 1907, provided for a continuation of the American collection of the revenues, and such collection has continued to the present day.³⁵

Doubtless this financial intervention has been welcome to the creditors of Santo Domingo, as well as to the best interests of its own government and citizens. The government receives more to-day from its 45 per cent. share of the customs than it formally received from the whole. Revolutionary movements have also been discouraged. An uprising in 1913

33. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Aug. 12, 1905.

34. "Foreign Relations," 1905, p. xxxiv-xxxv.

35. Ibid., 1907, p. 306 et seq.

was snuffed out in one month when the United States served notice on the rebels that if they did succeed in overthrowing the existing government they would not be recognized, and would not receive the Dominican share of the revenue. One might legitimately ask, however, what has become of the sovereignty and independence of the people of Santo Domingo.

VIII

The latest apparent widening of the scope of the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine occurred in 1912. At that time a report was in circulation that Japan was attempting to gain a foothold in Magdalena Bay, off Lower California, through a Mexican concession to a Japanese company. The charge was categorically denied by the Japanese ambassador, but it gave occasion for the passage of a resolution in the Senate, July 31, 1912, as follows: "Resolved that when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government, not American, as to give that government practical power or control for national purposes."³⁶ This was generally declared to be a considerable extension of the Monroe Doctrine. On the other hand it may more properly be regarded as simply an interpretation made to meet a condition that had never arisen before. It is the substance of the thing to which our nation holds, and that is, and always has been, that the safety of the United States demands that American territory shall remain American.

The foreign policy of President Wilson has been announced as clearly and effectively as was that of Mr. Roosevelt. As in the case of the former president, Mr. Wilson has disclaimed an aggressive attitude towards the Latin-American nations, and has explicitly declared that the United States would not again

36. American Year Book, 1912, p. 77.

seek to secure one additional foot of territory by conquest. He has seemed also to place greater emphasis upon the equality of nations. He believes that each state has the right to work out its own salvation, hence his policy of "watchful waiting" and non-intervention in Mexico. During the previous sixteen years the nation had been drifting into a policy of aggression, according to the Democratic party. Mr. Wilson has tried to combat that tendency. "We have seen material interests threaten constitutional liberty in America," he said. "I would rather belong to a poor nation that is free, than a rich nation that has ceased to love freedom."³⁷

At the same time, however, the Wilson administration has continued the American policy developed during the last few years in the Caribbean countries. It has carried out the Dominican financial arrangement, and in the autumn of 1914 the Dominican elections were conducted under the supervision of a commission appointed by President Wilson. Moreover, a treaty signed September 16, 1915, between the United States and Haiti, similar to the treaty with Santo Domingo, now ratified, provides for American supervision of the Haitian finances as well as of the constabulary for maintaining order. Another treaty with Nicaragua, also just ratified, provides for a certain amount of American influence in that republic. Since these treaties have met the approval of the Senate, the following Caribbean countries are in a measure protectorates of the United States: Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Panama, and Nicaragua. It is obvious, as President Taft said in his last annual message, December, 1912, "that the Monroe Doctrine is more vital in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal and the zone of the Caribbean than anywhere else." The process also by which hegemony is being translated into political incorporation is not proving to be a long one.

In at least one particular, Mr. Wilson has taken a more advanced position than any of his predecessors. He has set himself firmly against the revolutionary governments of po-

37. *Independent*, Vol. 76, p. 240.

litical adventurers, set up to serve their personal interests and ambitions. This is not a new doctrine. It is the Monroe Doctrine modernized. It expresses sympathy for republican institutions, as it did in 1823, but is manifested now in blocking dictatorships of local tyrants. As it was to our self-interest to keep Europe from despoiling Latin-America in 1823, so President Wilson sees that it is to our advantage now to prevent the petty personal ambitions of American despots from despoiling Latin-America. He believes also that this is primarily a policy of helpfulness to our neighbors. To his mind the Monroe Doctrine is no longer a policy of selfishness.³⁸

38. See President Wilson's Annual Message of 1915.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI BULLETIN
VOLUME 20, NUMBER 28

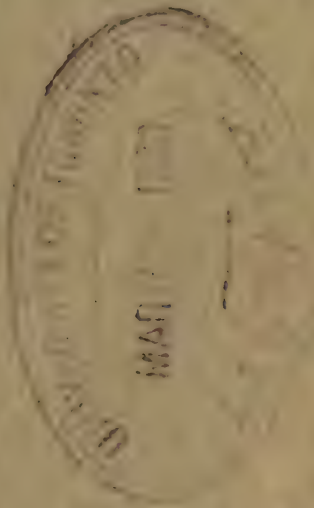
SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES 3

THE SOCIAL SURVEY, ITS HISTORY AND METHODS

By

CARL C. TAYLOR

Associate Professor of Sociology



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
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PREFACE

The technique of social surveying and the technology of social surveys have developed so recently and so rapidly that a thoro analysis of them is impossible. It is the purpose of the author to present, from his limited experience as a social surveyor, and from a rather extended study of social surveys, the evolution, methods, and value of the social survey. Practically no organizations or communities attempt to project programs of social welfare or social efficiency without first making some sort of a survey of the social situation with which the program is to deal. This bulletin should be of assistance to them in realizing their desire to know the conditions of their communities better. Chapter I is an attempt to introduce them to the purposes of the social survey. Chapter II describes the origins and evolution of the survey idea and survey methods and should thus give the reader a more comprehensive appreciation of the purpose of social surveys. Chapters III and IV are attempts to equip the reader with a beginning knowledge of just how to go about making a social survey. The appendix should be studied in conjunction with these chapters. Chapter V presents some things of theoretical value to be derived from the social survey. The bulletin is published with the hope that it will serve as a manual for social surveyors who want to do actual field work. It is a portion of a thesis presented to the Graduate School of the University of Missouri in 1918 in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Columbia, Missouri
September, 1919

C. C. T.

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CHAPTER I

What Is The Social Survey

The social survey is new. Its very rapid rise and immense popularity almost designate it as a fad. The prominent part it has recently played in reform movements suggests that it may be a sort of new religion. Its wide revelations and vivid pictures of things previously but dimly known makes it operate as quite a definite regulative agency in the community where it is made. Its searching analysis and popular methods of description indicate that it may be a valuable method of sociological investigation. Some of the promoters of social surveys have recognized the elements of the fad, the craze, and religion in the survey movement and have begun to call a halt upon the possibility of its becoming a mere reformers' creed, an outlet for religious zeal, or a sort of community clairvoyancy which is having its day.¹

Is the social survey merely a new medium for the discharge of religious and reform energy which has suddenly been turned from church formalism and religious charity to humanity, and has taken as its creed welfare and efficiency? Or is it the natural and inevitable perfection of a method for discovering facts about which the people of this age have more or less naturally become concerned? These questions may be incapable of satisfactory answers simply because both these elements are inextricably bound up in the survey movement. One fact is clear, however, namely: the social survey did not appear suddenly, unannounced and from nowhere. It has developed. It is a movement. It has gained steadily, tho rapidly in popularity. Its perfection of technique and technology has steadily increased. Its influence upon reform programs and clear thinking in general has already become evident in many fields of social enterprise.

¹Thompson, C. W., *Rural Surveys, Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XI, 1916, 132.

It is the claim of social surveyors that the novelty of the social survey is merely its power to discover and set forth objectively social facts and situations in such a way as to be of interest to the immediate community and often to the public at large; that surveys are the expression of a desire on the part of the people to ascertain what ails their community;² that it is just as necessary for organizations or communities, as it is for men, to know themselves;³ that men and communities are learning the need of skillful diagnosis; that the social survey is diagnostic in that it is a stock-taking of facts regarding the problems about which the sociologist and social worker are concerned;⁴ "that it is a community study which applies a thoro scientific method to social and economic phenomena in order to secure data upon which to base a scientific program for future community building."⁵ It also is the belief of surveyors that the survey has grown popular and effective thru the medium of "pitiless publicity" of bald facts. When, however, it may be asked, did the mere publicity of facts become so powerful? Newspapers have been published for a century. Books have been read for a number of centuries, and investigations of social facts and situations have gone on for no one knows how long. Professor R. E. Park contends that the survey movement, which he says preceded the social surveyor and the social survey itself, took definite form only when two particular streams of public interest—the welfare and the efficiency movements—united, some three decades ago.⁶ Their union was first announced through the muckraking episode of twenty or twenty-five years ago. The muckrakers took it upon themselves to generate public concern about public affairs. In 1871, when the New York Times began its attack upon Tweed, muckraking really began. The interest generated by this incident was followed in the two succeeding decades by a gradual

²Davis, W. L., *A Community Welfare Week*. 1.

³*A Community Survey of the 21st Ward, The City Club Bulletin*, Chicago, Vol. VI, No. 5, 86.

⁴Schneider, F. *The Relation of The Social Survey to Public Health*, 4.

⁵Preston, Josephine, *Educational Surveys, Rural Life Conference of State College of Washington*, 1913, 8.

⁶References to Professor Park's ideas are based on a course he gives at Chicago University in "Social Surveys" and not to any publication.

the marked development of public concern about similar social situations. People became convinced that municipal corruption was a normal result of party machine organization; that Tammany and similar rings were literally organized societies; that Tweed himself was a representative of a system; that the theory of "put the rascals out" was not accomplishing anything more than a change of administrations with the same problems presenting themselves over and over again. The story of the development thru these twenty years is but the history of a public's growing interest in itself. The issue concerning Tweed and Tammany was only an index to what was happening in a less pronounced way thruout the whole nation. Previous to the incidents just referred to there is little evidence that communities recognized such things as these as phases or aspects of their own social life. In the late seventies and early eighties articles began to appear in the popular magazines calling attention to vital facts of immediate public interest. The Century Magazine, for instance, ran quite a series of articles on Civil Service Reform in 1882. The Atlantic Monthly, in 1880, began calling attention to the value of such comparative studies as that of E. C. Wines upon "The State of Prisons and Child Saving Institutions in The Civilized World." There was scarcely an issue of Harper's Magazine in the late seventies, which did not contain an article on Compulsory Education, Vice Conditions, Defectives and Delinquents, Sanitation, and similar social issues. Other magazines, such as the North American Review and the Arena, which had already made it a part of their policy to stimulate interest in and furnish knowledge concerning these problems, increased the space given to these matters about this time. An analysis of the material appearing in ten leading American magazines between 1870 and 1890 reveals, by actual count, almost twice as many articles, of the nature referred to above, in the five year period just following and including 1880 as appeared in the five year period preceding 1880. A further and even more interesting fact is that the nature of the subjects treated in these publications in the fifteen years following 1880 were far more specific in their treatment of social

facts and issues than were articles treating of these same facts and issues in the fifteen years preceding 1880.⁷

Between 1870 and 1890 the greatest gain that has yet been made in American newspaper circulation took place. The period of the so-called "new journalism" had come in. There was a change from the old political and editorial type of newspaper to that of the reporting type. Great improvements had been made in the technology of printing. The linotype was invented in 1884. Chemical processes of treating wood pulp developed in the eighties. Publishers could buy as much paper for one dollar in 1890 as they could for ten dollars in 1870. The total circulation of all American newspapers increased from 20,842,475 in 1870 to 31,177,924 in 1880 and to over three billion in 1890.⁸ All this occasioned the daily newspapers to be read by probably ten times as many people in 1890 as they were in 1870. J. L. Laughlin said in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1885, "We are a newspaper reading people . . . We discuss the issues which concern national welfare. There are few people who do not have some definite opinion about the present coinage of silver dollars, the protective tariff . . ."⁹ He could not have asserted this two decades before, when the circulation of daily newspapers was less than one one-hundredth of what it was at the time he wrote, and when it was weeks between the issuance of the news and its being read by people in the more remote sections of the country. It was also in this decade that the United States Census took on a wider significance as a body of social data. The formal census of 1870 contained 156 schedules, that of 1880 contained 19,919 schedules.¹⁰ It was the census of 1880 that contained, for the first time, data concerning the insane, pauper and criminal classes. Special investigations and publications of the data in these fields were first published in bulletin form during the first decade of the present century. A number of significant arti-

⁷The author attempted to make a comparative analysis of these articles and found that three-sevenths of them were presenting facts or opinions about social conditions which have since been objects of social surveys.

⁸*American Newspaper Directory*, 1879 to 1908, Geo. P. Revell and Company.

⁹J. L. Laughlin, *The Atlantic Monthly*, 826, (June 1885).

¹⁰Wright, C. D. and Hunt, W. C., *History and Growth of the United States Census from 1790-1890*, 87.

cles, books and published investigations appeared in the early nineties which added greatly to the public's interest in itself. General Booth's, *Darkest England and the Way Out*, appeared in 1891. Jacob A. Riis also began to publish his books at about this time: *The Children of the Poor* (1892), *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), *The Battle with the Slum* (1902). *The City Wilderness, a Study of South End, Boston*, by Robert A. Woods, was published in 1898. Ida M. Tarbell's *History of The Standard Oil Company* came out in 1903. Lincoln Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities* was published in 1904. Thomas W. Lawson's *Frenzied Finance* appeared in the same year as did also Altgeld's *The Cost of Something for Nothing*. Jane Adams' *Democracy and Social Ethics* had appeared two years previously. Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, John Hobson, C. R. Henderson and others of their type began their careers as writers and investigators in the nineties. Special census investigations were made regularly. The Experimental Bureau of Municipal Research had been established in 1896. Seth Low in his administration as mayor of Brooklyn from 1881 to 1885 had stirred New York with the ideal of business efficiency in city government. Municipal accounting had become a profession. The Russell Sage Foundation had been founded for welfare and investigational purposes, and the Municipal Reference Bureau had taken the formal and definite purpose of educating for municipal efficiency. It was therefore natural that out of so well defined a body of sentiment and so many similar lines of improvement and just at the close of the heyday of muckraking,¹¹ a great piece of social investigation should grow. And it was further natural in 1908, when this investigation—the *Pittsburgh Survey*—was planned, that it should attempt to weld into one the ideals of efficiency and welfare. The investigation was carried forward with this purpose in mind. Professor Park says: "What bridges efficiency and social welfare together is that they use the same methods and each in its very nature implies the motive of the other." Since the *Pittsburgh Survey* the movement has developed so rapidly

¹¹There was hardly a magazine between 1900 and 1905 in which there did not appear muckraking articles more or less regularly.

that it would be impossible even to list the surveys which have been made. It is probable that more surveys are in progress at this time than have been published thus far.

If the social survey is a fad it bids fair to rival the wildest one of all time. If it is a religion it has caught the attention of the efficiency worshipers as well as that of the reformers. If, however, it is something more fundamental than either of these it must have back of it forces and factors even more vital and compelling than this body of developing sentiment we have just described. The writer believes it has such a fundamental background. What might be called "modern municipal problems" had arisen during the period covered in the above sketch. Great American cities had come into existence. In 1880 one person out of every four of our population lived in cities; now one out of every two live in cities. The greatest advances in city growth came between 1880 and 1890 during which decade there was an increase of 49.5 per cent in the population of cities of over twenty-five thousand inhabitants.¹² Welfare problems have increased immensely with the increase in size of cities and with their changing type of inhabitants. Besides eighteen cities of over twenty-five thousand population having doubled their numbers between 1900 and 1910 there was a growing percentage of these populations that was not native born. Only fourteen cities in the United States with one hundred thousand population or more had one-half American white populations in 1910. New York had 40.41 per cent foreign born and an added 38.21 per cent more who had foreign born parents.¹³ Josiah Strong says: "In New York City there are sixty-six languages spoken, eighteen in one block, while twenty-six nationalities are represented in a single public school."¹⁴ The tide of immigration pouring into these cities swung from North Europe to South Europe in the eighties.¹⁵ Municipal problems, more acute than we had ever known before, immediately presented themselves for solution because of the two great

¹²*Twelfth Census of U. S. 1900* Vol. 1 lxxi.

¹³Beard, Chas. A., *American City Government*, 24, 26.

¹⁴Strong, Josia, *The Challenge of the City*, 149.

¹⁵*Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1914* (Charts and Statistics following, 156.)

factors we have just mentioned. If social consciousness, like individual consciousness, arises when some vital adjustment is imperative,¹⁰ it seems evident that American municipal consciousness was destined to appear within this period. It did appear and took form in the efficiency and welfare movements which together have made up the survey movement, or the spirit of the survey, so to speak. If this spirit has at times outrun the real function of the survey it is because the popular element of the fad has developed more rapidly than have the scientific technique and machinery of surveying, and not because the social survey does not have a function more fundamental than that of merely being popular.

As a welfare movement the Social Survey finds that it must get the ear of the public. As an efficiency movement it finds that it must enlist the participation of the public. Therefore, the function and the popularity of the Social Survey do not stand opposed but rather as complementary to each other. The one is the essential element in the other's success and thus in the ultimate success of the survey itself. The Social Survey probably never would have developed had it had as its function merely the gathering of "facts for facts' sake," altho it would have been largely worth while had it had no other purpose. It needed something that would be recognized as more vital and more interesting to the immediate public. The welfare and efficiency movements with their demand for skillful diagnosis; the charity workers with their insistence upon case methods; the ever-driving need of problems to be solved and the public's growing interest in the solution of these problems, have been the great motives for the development of the social survey, and for the development of a technique and technology even more interesting than the sentiment which we have been discussing.

The conscious purpose of most of the recent surveys has probably been to stimulate community introspection. Communities make surveys or permit surveys to be made of themselves for the sake of detecting their faults, to discover the basis of some immediate or ultimate community enterprise, or simply for the sake of knowing themselves better. The earliest elements,

¹⁰Elwood, C. A., *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 59, 152.

as we have noted, were muckraking propaganda. Lincoln Stefens in his study of the seven American cities, which furnished the data for *The Shame of the Cities*, and Ida Tarbell in her investigation of Standard Oil, did clever pieces of social detective work. Page after page of the *Pittsburgh Survey* is mere muckraking.¹⁷ Many of the most recent survey reports are introduced by such statements as the following: "This pamphlet seeks to give an answer as to whether the churches in the villages and open country are effectively giving impetus for every movement of rural advance;"¹⁸ "The survey idea was applied to rural communities largely for the purpose of investigating institutions which have ceased to function adequately;"¹⁹ "Wherever made, the legitimate purpose of the survey is to bring about a more economic use of money and equipment and a better adaptation of educational agencies to educational needs."²⁰ Practically all special investigations which preceded the survey had this element of faultfinding and detection in them. It was therefore natural that the first social surveys were surveys of abnormal conditions. As noted above, the social survey is a diagnosis and diagnoses are called for when something is felt or seen to be wrong. Sanitary, health and educational surveys, which have been financed by certain communities, have at times evoked the harshest criticisms from the city officials and the common citizens because they have revealed unpleasant facts about the living conditions and social organization of the community. Without question, in more recent years, there has been a gradual shifting from this detective type of investigation toward that of a more constructive nature. Facts of maladjustment are still uncovered but together with them, facts of merit also appear. Facts pictured as "glaring evils and startling injustices" which were to "be found on every

¹⁷The examples of this tendency are so numerous in the *Pittsburgh Survey* that no quotations are attempted. An index to the tendency can be found from pages 3 to 6 of the volume on the *Pittsburgh District*.

¹⁸Wilson, W. H. and Felton R. A., *Ohio Rural Life Survey*, (Southeastern Ohio,) 5.

¹⁹Riddell, W. A., *Rural Survey of Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba*, 7.

²⁰Mahoney, J., *Some Foreign Educational Surveys*, 4.

hand" were of dominant interest to the Pittsburgh surveyors.²¹ The following quotations are indicative of the purpose of some of the best modern surveyors: "The project was undertaken in order to learn significant facts of living conditions in the community, to make recommendations where creative action is needed, and to acquaint the general citizenship with both facts and needs."²² "In the survey the aim has been to ascertain and display the facts, present the actual conditions, bring into high relief the most striking features, whether good or bad, and make clear a program or policy for the future."²³ "The purpose of this survey was constructive. It was not aimed to humiliate but to improve."²⁴ It has largely come to be the rule that citizens of the community who are interested in the project which is to be promoted upon the basis of the findings of the investigation are themselves assistants in the survey. The community becomes self-conscious by means of self-discovery.

The social survey not only reveals the problems of the community but often reveals the community itself. Most people live surrounded by a social environment which they take for granted and are part of innumerable social situations which they assume to be "just natural." An individual lives as a neighbor to one man and at cross purposes with another without seeking deeper than the subjective causes. Therefore, people within a given section live more or less intimately together and more or less isolated from the people of other sections but never discover why. Dr. Warren H. Wilson was probably the first to attempt to outline the functional community when he defined it as "a team haul." Professor C. J. Galpin of the University of Wisconsin, has since made a very careful and thorough diagnosis of rural human relationships, with the result that he has discovered what he calls, "the social anatomy of an agricultural community," and has demonstrated a method by which others may do the same thing. School, church, soil and farm management surveys state their purposes to be the finding of

²¹*The Pittsburgh District*, 7 Russell Sage Fdt., 1907.

²²Potter, Z. L. et al, *The Newburg Survey*, 4.

²³Riddell, W. A. et al, *Rural Survey County of Huron, Ontario*, 5.

²⁴Potter, Z. L. et al, *The Newburg Survey*, 4.

the functional relationships of specific communities. Doctor Wilson started this idea, as we have said, by attempting to find the real boundaries of community life.²⁵ Professor Galpin demonstrated the possibility of finding not only the boundaries but the functional relationships of community life and organization.²⁶ The conviction has become quite universal among surveyors that the social survey is capable of revealing phenomena that "are embedded in the common life" of a given community of people.²⁷ They believe that it "defines and expresses local situations, and focuses public attention on them" more completely than any previous type of investigation has done.²⁸ They believe, in fact, that it discovers the community by actually tracing the fibers of the community organization, or we might almost say, community organism. Social surveyors operate upon the conviction that every citizen should know his own community and that such knowledge on his part will result in his taking a deeper interest in the community's welfare. They are convinced that what is called a "social diagnosis," is necessary before any positive program can be carried forward.²⁹ They believe that thoughtful people appreciate the fact that community comparison is an essential basis for scientific community building and progress, and that some such thing as the survey is an essential in furnishing the facts upon which any such comparison can be made.³⁰ Surveys have practically always been made for the sake of gaining a knowledge of community conditions; to reveal that knowledge to the citizens; and to make recommendations for future action. Surveys have been used just as the physician uses his diagnosis or the geodetic surveyor uses his analysis.³¹ They are different only in their scope. That is, they are not a single line of investigation, a single diagnosis, or single analysis. Rather, the social

²⁵Wilson, W. H., *Evolution of the Country Community*, 91.

²⁶Galpin, C. J., *Social Anatomy of An Agricultural Community*, 1, 2.

²⁷Kellogg, P. U., *The Social Survey*, 15.

²⁸Schneider, F., *The Relation of the Social Survey to Public Health Authorities*, 4.

²⁹Curtis, F. R., *Collection of Survey Material*, 3, 4.

³⁰Groves, E. R., *Rural Life Conference*, State College of Washington, 1913 3-4.

³¹Felton, R. A., *The Study of a Rural Parish*, 5.

survey is a composite of investigations. Mr. Zenas L. Potter says: "A distinction is made between an investigation and a survey. The investigation is a study of a problem that is a unit. The survey is a group of such investigations, the problems of which knot themselves together into community problems."¹²²

Social surveys may be made indefinitely for the purpose of detection, or as a basis for social action and social programs. Each will help the citizen to know his community better, and this result alone will justify the making of any or all surveys. Social surveys have been made, however, for purposes other than these two just mentioned. A limited number have been undertaken for the sole purpose of discovering facts. Such are the surveys made by instructors in agricultural colleges and elsewhere who desire more specific information in their particular fields of scientific research. The surveyor in this case merely wants to find out the general living conditions of this or that type of community. He may want to compare urban conditions with rural conditions, industrial with residential conditions, one community with another, one section of a community with another section of the same community, or numerous other conditions and situations. It is not that he wants to carry thru any immediate program, not that he desires to find fault or detect any abnormal thing, but that he, as a sociologist, economist or citizen, wants a better knowledge of the social and economic facts of typical communities. The writer believes that the social survey has both unconsciously and consciously developed a method of discovering and revealing these facts. He believes further that social surveyors are operating both consciously and unconsciously toward the development of a definite standardized method of social research and investigation.

Certain questions might be raised, however, by those who believe that the social surveyors are following a mere fad, and especially might these questions be asked by scientific men. First, *does the social survey furnish typical facts, that is, does it establish the hypothetical typical community, the typical social situation—facts and conditions from which we can generalize?*

¹²²Potter, Z. L., *The Social Survey*, 2.

The following quotations are indicative of the surveyors' answers.

"*White County is typical not only of a very considerable section of southern Illinois, but is equally typical of wide sections of those states by which Illinois is bounded on the south-east and southwest.*"³³

"In response to certain requests the county church work undertook to survey *a typical county* in western Oregon."³⁴

"The Bureau of Social Surveys has made an inquiry into the actual extent of misery in *five typical blocks* of as many different districts of the city where such helplessness seems to prevail."³⁵

"This district was chosen because it appeared on examination to be *a fairly representative section*.—The progress of the study justified this preliminary judgment."³⁶

"Green County is *a member* of that very fertile *group of counties* in southwestern Ohio drained by the two Miami rivers and their tributaries."³⁷

Of course these quotations do not at all prove that the surveys established typical facts. What they do prove is that the surveyors were attempting to make surveys that had more than a local bearing. It is a common practice to choose houses or farms by random in a given community and thus trust that these few will be representative.³⁸ In a housing survey being made at this time under the direction of the author a distinct attempt is made to gather enough facts from each section of the city to make comparison of typical situations possible.

The second question that the surveyor must answer if he would satisfy the demands of the scientific investigator is: *Has the surveyor proceeded objectively, that is, has he eliminated the personal equation, or are his data merely subjective*

³³Foster, Dr. L. H. and Fulber, Miss Harriet, *A Health Survey of White County, Illinois*, 4.

³⁴Ayer, F. C. and Morse, H. N., *A Rural Survey of Lane County, Oregon*, 3.

³⁵Blachly, C. D., *Report of the Bureau of Social Surveys, Report of the Bureau of Public Welfare*, Chicago, 1915. 53.

³⁶Fairchild, H. P., *An Industrial Survey of a New Haven District*. 3.

³⁷Wilson, W. H. and Felton, R. A., *Ohio Rural Life Survey*. (Green and Clermont counties) 5.

³⁸Riddell, W. A., *Rural Surveys, Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba*. 7.

opinions concerning the social situations? Again we shall allow the surveyor and the student of the survey to state their convictions.

"We can fairly say that this survey was made with no preconceived notions to prove or overcome. Whether the conclusions reached would have much or little in common with the beliefs of the ordinary reader, has had little effect on the method of the work."³⁹

"A survey is the application of a thoro scientific method to social and economic phenomena, to secure data upon which to base a scientific program for the increase of human institutional efficiency.—The investigators begin their work to discover the truth, not to seek data to prove their theories."⁴⁰

The next question the scientist would ask is: *Has there been any attempt to use the comparative method?* A closely related question is: Are the data so tabulated as to make the comparative method possible? Turning again to the surveyors, we find such statements as the following: "The Pittsburgh Survey made a quick diagnosis of perhaps twenty phases of life and labor in the steel district on the basis of standards worked out elsewhere, it brought these diagnoses together and studied something of the structural relations of the problems set forth."⁴¹ While both of these surveys (Vocational Education Surveys of Richmond and Minneapolis) were made primarily for the purpose of analysing the local industries and the local systems of education and of ascertaining what kind of instruction is needed and the best way of imparting that instruction, they are also of nation-wide interest and significance. The facts discovered in the studies of the industries of Richmond and Minneapolis are the general facts peculiar to those same industries thruout the country."⁴²

"The following is a general view of the social conditions of the city as a whole. The broader study is necessary for the

³⁹Wilson, W. H. and Taft, A. B., *A Rural Survey of Indiana*, 6.

⁴⁰Preston, J., *Educational Surveys, Rural Life Conference*, State College of Washington, 1913, 8, 11.

⁴¹Kellogg, P. U., *The Social Survey*, 7.

⁴²Prosser, C. A. and Richards, C. R., *Vocational Education Survey of Minneapolis, Minnesota*, 9.

purpose of comparison with the condition existing in the districts."⁴³

"The object of the social survey should be not merely to gather all the facts pertaining to the social life of the community; but far more to correlate these facts and to make progress toward the underlying causes by which they are moulded and their effects upon each other."⁴⁶

The final question which the surveyor must answer in the light of scientific standards is: *Has the social survey developed a system of quantitative symbols by which it can measure and express its findings?* Upon the answer to this question the possibility of utilizing the comparative method depends, and without this method all study must be largely subjective and no assertion concerning typical facts can be made. The surveyors are quite clear, however, in their ideals and purposes concerning the answer to this last question. They do not claim in all cases to have perfected these symbols but that it is their purpose to perfect them, there can be little doubt. Note the following quotations:

"Fact gathering is the A. B. C. of surveying."⁴⁵

"Readings would be simplified and their permanent, intrinsic, and comparative values enhanced if a uniform plan were followed in the presentation of the findings."⁴⁶

"The object of these surveys is to subject to statistical measurement certain rural social and economic forces and to furnish exact data as a foundation for constructive programs of rural betterment."⁴⁷

"The chief merit of these studies lies in their quantitative character; tho the measurements are rough, and are supplemented all too often by estimates, they indicate what can be done toward getting exact information, and in themselves supply a good deal of it."⁴⁸

⁴³*Social Prospectus of Kansas City*, 1913, 8.

⁴⁴Elmer, M. C., *The Social Survey of Urban Communities*, 4.

⁴⁵Harrison, S., *Community Action Thru Surveys*, 4.

⁴⁶Potter, Z. L., *The Coopersburg Survey*, 7.

⁴⁷Weld, L. D. H., *Social and Economic Survey of a Community in Red River Valley*, 2.

⁴⁸Haney, L. S. and Wehrwein, G., *A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County, Texas*, 1.

"A social survey is an attempt to photograph, so to speak, the community so as to show every home in all its social connections with all other homes in the community."⁴⁹

Social surveyors have not made these statements in answer to questions asked by scientists, nor have most social surveyors been operating as skilled scientists. Rather they have worked as expert investigators seeking to find facts. In order to get these facts they have evolved a method of research which they call the social survey. Thus the social surveyor would argue that while the social survey has in it some elements of the fad, and has developed with all the zeal of a popular movement, that it also has more vital elements in it which indicate that it will long outlive its mere popularity. The truth is that it has become recognized as a direct method of obtaining knowledge as well as a method or means of mobilizing a community's interest in itself.

We have attempted thus far to trace the growing sentiment which prompted investigations upon the basis of efficiency and social welfare and have noted the fact that the two purposes culminated in the *Pittsburgh Survey*. It was in the *Pittsburgh Survey*—the work of the *Russell Sage Foundation*—and in the work of the *Municipal Reference Bureau* that we came to recognize the function of the expert surveyor. It has been the expert field investigator rather than the scientist who has developed the technique and method of discovering and presenting social facts. It has therefore seemed worth while to allow him to testify to what he thinks he has attained that is valuable to scientific method in sociology. An analysis of many of these surveyors' reports shows that they believe: (1) that they have been discovering and revealing typical situations; (2) that they have pursued their work in an objective way, caring for nothing but the revelation of conditions as they are; (3) that they have made possible comparisons and, in fact, have revealed new truths by means of the comparative method; and (4) that they have insisted upon quantitative methods of tabulation and comparison, and have thus developed a truly scientific tech-

⁴⁹Galpin, C. J., *Method of Making a Social Survey*, 2.

nology. It is the belief of the author that these attainments will do much to check up on certain social theories now held. Ultimately, indeed, they may have much to do with creating new social theories, based upon scientifically observed and demonstrated facts.

CHAPTER II

Origin and Evolution of The Social Survey

It is the purpose of this chapter to show what the technique of social surveying is and how it has evolved. In order to do so, it has seemed advisable to trace the development of those types of social investigation which have contributed most directly to modern methods of discovering and setting forth social facts. Just as the purpose of the social survey is a composite of different sentiments, so survey technique and technology are composites or syntheses of numerous methods and machineries of social investigation. As a composite social investigation, the social survey utilizes all the means and methods of social analysis and description.

Many investigations made under the name *survey* have nothing in common with the social survey method as a composite and contemporary investigation. A *survey* of Greek civilization or a *survey* of English literature does not enter into our field of discussion. On the other hand we shall find that numerous investigations made under other captions have much to contribute to our discussion, and that many of these, in fact, are real social surveys. In the functional development of social analysis—and we are interested in the functional rather than the chronological development—social description was probably the first step. *Domesday Book*, the report of Domesday Survey, is largely a census of England of the eleventh century. William the Conqueror had the investigation made, in the years preceding 1086, in order that he might have a better knowledge of his recently won territory. He gathered the data primarily as a basis for the incidence of taxation,⁵⁰ and possibly for the purpose of knowing how many subjects he had who could be enlisted in the defence of his kingdom. The *Domesday Survey* was apparently made in a very definite and formal way, for it found out the approximate number of men in England and the

⁵⁰Ballard, A., *The Domesday Inquest*, 8-10.

economic status of each.⁵¹ It gathered elaborate statistics and carefully tabulated them. The *Domesday Book* is thus more than a census report. It is, in fact, a rather elaborate piece of social description, and might be called a social history of English life of the eleventh century.⁵²

Stow's *Survey of London*, another early investigation, which was published in 1598, is almost purely social description.⁵³ Stow gathered facts concerning ancient London from the most reliable sources possible and published these facts. Thus, his book is literally a history of London. The reason we accept it as a contribution to the first step in social surveying is because Stow was interested purely in the social aspects of facts rather than in their chronology. In all cases he discusses the very facts we look for in surveys. He gives definite figures concerning the number of churches, towers, castles, schools and other social institutions. For the most part, however, his facts are not tabulated, but only described.

John Howard's *State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (1777), another social study, was different from Stow's study, in that it was an investigation of contemporary rather than historical facts. He was surveying a social situation. His report is like Stow's, in that he expressed his findings quantitatively only where they were exceedingly easily expressed in figures, as in the case of food apportionment, the number of prisoners, how many prisoners were flogged and how many were punished in some other way. He did more than merely describe individual prisons, however. He saw the prison system as a unit, and thru his investigation he might be said to have "created the prison problem in Europe." In all of his findings he noted similar facts, such as the numbers of each sex, causes of commitment, clothing, food, bedding, cleanliness, work and the number of cases of prison fever, which suggests that he must have developed and used specific schedules for his many investigations. In London he gathered statistics concerning fees, because he was interested in the abolition of the fee system. He care-

⁵¹Ibid, 14.

⁵²Ibid, 19.

⁵³Stow, J., *The Survey of London*.

fully tabulated, by county units, statistics concerning the disposition made of prisoners; i. e., whether they were punished or discharged. Here again his tables for all the counties are the same, which made it possible for him to form comparative judgments concerning the social situation which he was studying and which again suggests that he used definite schedules.

This survey of nearly a century and a half ago reveals not only the first concise step in the development of social survey technology but also reveals, in panoramic form, the rapid development and even the motives in social surveying. The social survey, above everything else, is a *social diagnosis*, but like all other diagnoses, it was not usually made until some abnormal condition had developed calling for remedy. John Howard, as sheriff of Bedfordshire, became interested in the improvement of the county jail.⁵⁴ He began his investigations by first visiting the jails of adjacent counties to gather examples and make comparisons. The consideration given to his findings by Parliament led him to visit, many times, practically all the prisons of England and Wales. The knowledge of the complete social situation at home, in turn, led him to seek comparisons in foreign countries. On two occasions he visited practically all the prisons of France, Holland, Switzerland, and Germany to get comparative judgments concerning the problem at home. A similar growing interest in definite social problems and social situations, and the discovery of comparative social facts is what has caused the social survey to develop so rapidly in the last two decades.

Booth's *Life and Labor of the People of London* (1891-1897), like Howard's investigation, is a study of definite contemporaneous social situations. It remains, however, quite strictly in the field of social description tho it is truly a survey. It is true that practically all of his findings are expressed in some sort of graphic or statistical form, but the fact that the report is a document of seventeen volumes and over six thousand pages, is sufficient to prove that it contains a very great amount of descriptive material. Booth asserts: "My

⁵⁴Howard, J., *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales*, 1.

principle aim is to confine myself to the description of things as they are,"⁵⁵ but notwithstanding his high resolve to remain strictly scientific, we often find him preaching concerning situations and viewpoints of the people whom he studied. Booth did, however, have a fairly scientific attitude toward his work. He started with the idea that poverty is based solely upon the lack of sufficient income, and that population can be classified upon this basis so as to give an adequate picture of social life. Later he modified this opinion to the extent of saying: "If it is not exactly or invariably true that the direct apparent poverty, the closest crowding, the greatest lack of responsibility and lowest scale of remuneration went hand in hand in every locality and in every degree, still it did appear that the numbers of the crowded and the numbers of the low paid were much the same; that industrial capacity and higher and more regular wages lead to better housing"⁵⁶ This statement may sound as if his correlations were deeply influenced by his preconceived notions of what he would find. When, however, we find that he reconstructed his whole scheme of classifications so as to include and correlate many facts, of which he had never before thought, with the life and labor of these people, we are inclined to consider him as fairly scientific and as after all the first great social surveyor. He was a statistician and began his work with few ideas beyond those of enumeration of populations and the correlation of incomes with numbers and classes of people. At first he enumerated the people of London in classes according to the degree of their poverty and comfort and indicated the condition of the life of each class by the amount of money it received. He soon became convinced, however, that the wages, vocations, and location of these people formed the basis of natural social groups, and so he reorganized his investigation upon these bases. His final tabulations contain data concerning every aspect of the whole social situation of which these groups were a part, from their religious practices to their means and methods of sewage disposal. He started his

⁵⁵Booth, C., *Life and Labour of the People of London*. 3d Series. *Religious Influences*. *Outer Ring, North*, I, 5.

⁵⁶*Ibid*, I, 4.

investigation in the outer ring—the newest section—of London and proceeded by a series of concentric rings toward the heart of the city. He mapped out the streets in colors so as to depict clearly their location and functions. He lived among the people for three years, gathered data thru thousands of personal interviews with the best informed citizens and professional men of each section, even from school children, concerning education, and later utilized the census of 1891 to amplify his own findings. His written report on religion alone is a digest of 1800 personal interviews. His findings are, of course, sometimes vague because he set himself the task of finding big tendencies and not minute data. His study, however, is a comprehensive picture of a more or less complete social situation. His poverty map, his street chart, his classification of people in correlation with their natural environment—both physical and social—forces his study upon our attention as a definite step forward in the technique of social investigation.

Since Booth's notable work, a number of similar but minor studies have been made. In some ways these studies improve upon Booth's technique and in other ways they do not equal it. Three such studies are Kengott, *Record of a City*, (the city of Lowell, Massachusetts), Kirk, *A Modern City, a Study of Providence, Rhode Island*, and Rowntree, *Poverty*, (a study of York, England). There seems to be little in Kengott's survey beyond the general purpose of making some sort of an investigation. He does gather statistics of diseases, what people live upon, the wages they receive, and a number of other similar matters, which he tabulates in quite minute detail. When, however, he comes to write his report, he makes very little use of these tables and allows himself to be led into social description, back of which there seems to be the ever-present spirit of detection and exposure rather than diagnosis. Every shortcoming is pointed out and a solution is offered for every problem. While the author never compares his findings with any standards except the vague hypothesis with which he started the investigation, he does further demonstrate Booth's method by presenting maps, charts and tables of statistics, and adds to these the important feature of graphs, which has since come to

be recognized as a highly valuable method of quantitative description.

Kirk's *Study of Providence* is a collection of essays by members of the faculty of Brown University. It presents the facts concerning the physical characteristics, commercial and industrial growth, labor conditions, governmental, educational, aesthetic, philanthropic, and religious activities of Providence. In last analysis, however, it is simply a survey of the distinctive features of the city rather than a survey of the city as a whole or of any social situation within the city.

Rowntree's *Poverty* is modeled after Booth's study. The author sought to do for a provincial town what Booth had done for a metropolis.⁵⁷ His investigation was made just a decade later than that of Booth and the territory covered was much smaller. Therefore his survey could be, in many ways, much more detailed. He used some species of graphs that do not appear in Booth's report. He made a fairly minute study of family budgets. His data concerning family income and expenditure were much more accurate than those of Booth. Furthermore, and above everything else, he made generalizations from all of his findings, but drew only those inferences which came directly from the data furnished by his house to house investigations.⁵⁸ His report shows in every way the progress that had been made in methods of quantitative description in the decade following Booth's notable example.

The analysis of social description, as the first functional step in the development of survey technology, has already forced us to see the trend toward more quantitative methods of presenting the findings of the investigators. Probably, therefore, the next step we should take in analysing the antecedents of the modern survey is to discuss a method that is quite the opposite of description—the method of census taking.

The *United States Census* is, in a sense, a great social survey. It is a composite and contemporaneous study, and it does in some ways gather and present data concerning social situa-

⁵⁷Rowntree, B. S., *Poverty, A Study of Town Life*, Introduction.

⁵⁸Rowntree's book will be referred to again at greater length in another connection.

tions. For the most part, however, outside of the special bulletins, it is a mere enumeration. It discusses social groups and presents social facts, but does very little correlating of these facts, whereas correlation is one of the chief functions of the social survey. In fact, the reason the social survey studies the social situation rather than merely the social group is that it seeks to discover the forces and factors which are the very fibre of the social group, and these forces and factors are apparent only when the situation as a whole is studied.

In order that a complete social situation may be comprehended, it is often necessary that the survey be a study which has an element of locality in it.⁵⁹ A census has this feature only incidentally. Census taking, however, does have a direct contribution to make to survey technique, namely; its universal insistence upon quantitative analysis and description. Practically all recent comprehensive social surveys make large use of census methods. The Cleveland Educational Survey, while it is much more than this, is nevertheless a census of the Cleveland schools. The Pittsburgh Survey, the Topeka Survey and practically all others supply fairly complete data on population and other matters which a regular census would furnish. The Cleveland Survey was divided into twenty-five sections and each section dealt with some specific phase of the Cleveland public school system. Invariably, the first step taken by each investigator was that of enumeration. The facts are in all cases presented in statistical tables or by means of charts and graphs. It is practically only the volume of conclusions that welds all these statistical facts into a single social situation and thus makes of the Cleveland investigation a real social survey. No census can give complete data. Its contribution is that it has made us believe that no body of data is either reliable or complete which is not statistically or otherwise quantitatively expressed.

The social survey has, however, to do not only with the gathering and tabulation of social facts, but also with the creation of social facts, so to speak, that is, with problems of creating social consciousness of social situations. The very

⁵⁹Kellogg, P. U.; Harrison, S. M., and others. *Social Survey*, 13.

reason why the census is not a real social survey is that it does not sufficiently differentiate its data to make people conscious of social problems. On the other hand, the reason why social description fails to impress people with the problems and situations it seeks to depict is that it is not sufficiently concise to force people to visualize these facts and situations. Given, however, social description and census taking methods, the third step should readily suggest itself, namely; utilization and analysis of social statistics for the sake of completely describing social situations. I shall cite four attempts thus to combine these two methods into one. Rowntree's *Poverty* is to a certain extent a text book in social pathology. It is also a survey of the town of York. The questions the author sought to answer are the same that suggest themselves to every student of charity work, namely; "What is the true measure of poverty?" "How much of it is due to insufficiency of income and how much to improvidence?" "How many families are sunk in a poverty so acute that their members suffer from a chronic insufficiency of food and clothing?"⁶⁰ A desire to answer these questions adequately, led to an investigation, and a desire to make people conscious of the facts discovered by the investigation, led to the publication of the facts of social life in York in a text book called *Poverty*. In the introduction, the author says: "It soon became evident that if these and groups of allied questions were to be answered with any fulness and accuracy, nothing short of a house to house inquiry extending to the whole of the working-class population of the city would suffice."⁶¹ And again: "My object in undertaking the investigation in this volume was, if possible, to throw some light upon the conditions which govern life of wage-earning classes in provincial towns, and especially the problems of poverty."⁶² In his final chapter he draws generalizations from the detailed study, and says, "In this chapter it is proposed briefly to summarize the facts set forth in the preceding pages, and to consider what

⁶⁰Rowntree, B. S., *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*, viii.

⁶¹Ibid, ix.

⁶²Ibid. vii.

conclusions regarding the problem of poverty may be drawn from them."⁶³

Allen in his *Modern Philanthropy*, makes a peculiar, yet very interesting study of six thousand appeals for money made during one year to Mrs. E. H. Harriman. He became convinced during his investigation that neither givers nor receivers of relief had adequate means of learning what is most needed in their communities. Therefore, he published an analysis of these six thousand appeals in order to throw light on the whole problem of philanthropy and to create a social consciousness of the motives and needs of relief seekers. His analysis was made upon a schedule, the two chief categories of which were: "cause of need" and "purpose of aid requested." The interpretations of these findings are presented in a text book upon social pathology, the purpose of which is largely summed up in the following sentence: "I believe that the above analysis of givers' points of view will help givers, prospective givers and the public to recognize and demand efficient giving."⁶⁴

Bailey in *Modern Social Conditions*⁶⁵ does somewhat the same thing that Rowntree and Allen do; that is, he draws his theories from statistical tables, or at least he never draws a conclusion without presenting the statistics for the inference. Of course, his book is in no sense a report of a survey. It illustrates, rather, an attempt to give a complete appreciation of census taking methods and their value to social description. He utilizes not only the census reports of this and other countries for comparison, but also uses the technology of charts, diagrams, and other quantitative methods which he borrowed from census reports. He takes up the larger social facts and situations under such chapter headings as *Sex, Birth, Marriage, Death, and Growth of Population*. In every case the discussion is bound up with and is an interpretation of statistical data.

Some recent educational surveys are striking examples of this step in social surveying. Chief among these is the *Portland Survey*. It was made very much in the same way as all other

⁶³Ibid. 295.

⁶⁴Allen, W., *Modern Philanthropy*, 393.

⁶⁵Bailey, W. B., *Modern Social Conditions*.

educational or school surveys and for the same purpose, "as a report prepared for the people of Portland."⁶⁶ The appreciation by Professor Hanus of its wider significance led to its publication as one of the volumes of the *School Efficiency Series*, which is primarily a text book series. This survey, a local study, finds its place among educational treatises as a text book on school organization

Whether any one of these four books is a successful attempt at text book writing is beside our point which is to demonstrate these investigators' ideal of presenting their findings in such a manner as to challenge the attention of the general public and arouse the consciousness of the masses to the social conditions and situations under investigation. That these publications have failed to be as significant as their authors expected them to be, does not vitiate the fact that they demonstrate an essential bit of survey technique and technology. It proves, rather, that they are not the last step in the development of that technique and technology and so have naturally given way to later and superior methods.

Another quite distinct factor in developing social survey technique is the "*case method*" of charity workers. Without question this is one of the chief forerunners of the social survey. Its contributions are that it developed a field method and forced a recognition of the inter-relations of social problems.⁶⁷ It leads us to see that a social investigation cannot end with the individual dependent, delinquent or defective; in fact, that the individual is virtually an abstraction in relation to the social situation of which he is a part. The case record is not so much a record of an individual or a family as it is a record of the facts relating to individuals and families. As Miss Richmond puts it: "The family has a history of its own apart from the history of these who compose it."⁶⁸ "A client's social relations are not bounded by his immediate family, nor, as a rule, should our sources of insight and cooperation be so bounded.—

⁶⁶Cubberly, E. P., *The Portland Survey*, vii.

⁶⁷Riley, J. J., *Sociology and Social Surveys*, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 16, 818-33.

⁶⁸Richmond, Mary E., *Social Diagnosis*, 158.

The groups of outside sources frequently used, as shown in this study, are social agencies and churches, doctors and health agencies, former and present neighbors, relatives, former and present employers, schools, friends, and public records."⁶⁹ In summarizing the cooperative function of such agencies she cites the following: "A study of the outside sources—sources outside the immediate family group, that is—consulted in three cities by 56 social agencies of 19 different types (rendering 14 different forms of service in the cases studied) shows, in 2,800 cases (50 for each agency), 10,871 consultations with such sources, counting, in any one case, only the first consultation with each source used."⁷⁰ A case record is the exact record of those things of which charity workers have a general knowledge and deep appreciation, but about which they and the public alike need detailed and careful information. Furthermore, it is a vehicle by which information can be conveyed from one charity organization to another and to the public.⁷¹

The case method in the hands of skilled case-method workers has practically the same technique as the social survey. It attempts to be a diagnosis thru the collection, comparison and interpretation of social situations.⁷² It is a perpetual survey, an accumulation of facts concerning social situations, with the individual or the family as the unit of investigation. Among the contributions to the social survey from this method there is one that is preeminent. It was described as long ago as 1887 in these words, "The data, upon which are made these generalizations which are to guide our studies and practices, would be more exactly given if we kept better records."⁷³ In recent times charity workers who are imbued with such ideals as these have been our foremost social surveyors. In each of the three big social surveys of the past decade—the Pittsburgh, Topeka, and Springfield Surveys—they have not only been prominent as expert investigators but have been prime movers in instigating such studies. Sentiment for a special investiga-

⁶⁹Ibid, 179.

⁷⁰Richmond, Mary E., *Social Diagnosis*, 179.

⁷¹Aronovici, C., *The Social Survey*, 23-27.

⁷²Richmond, Mary E., *Social Diagnosis*, 363.

⁷³Kellogg, C. D., *National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1887, 123.

tion in Newburg, New York, took the definite form of a social survey only in the hands of Amy Woods of the Newburg Charity Organization Society. The staff of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation is largely made up of case-workers. The case method has thus not only contributed technique but engineers to the social survey.

Case work, however, has always been largely a closed system within the charity organization societies. The body of case records is known as the "Confidential Exchange," and is, for the most part, not for community publication. It was the special investigation that added the step of publicity to social survey technique. The development of *special investigations* by the Bureau of the Census and the publication of the reports in bulletin form for wide distribution began in the first decade of the present century. Bulletin reports upon the Insane, The Alms Houses, Children's Institutions and other similar problems awakened the public to clear consciousness of these problems. Health, school and church surveys, made for the sake of informing the public of the conditions existing in these separate fields, have all been factors in the final step toward the development of a composite social investigation. Special investigations of certain groups and classes of people made by other than official organizations, have served to differentiate and popularize the study of definite social problems. A study of Missouri Almshouses⁷⁴ gave its author—a sociologist—an opportunity to reach the people upon whom the condition and improvement of the particular social situation which he was investigating depended and to do it thru an approach which would challenge their attention. The first thing he did was to present a complete statistical summary of the number and types of inmates in the several almshouses of the state. This was followed by a brief description of each class—the insane, other defectives, children, and so forth. Finally there were presented the standards and ideals which a well organized and well administered almshouse should have. By this method the social situation with its complete significance was given publicity.

An investigation which pursued the same method and ac-

⁷⁴Ellwood, C. A., *Conditions of the County Almshouses in Missouri*.

complished the same purpose is a study of the feeble-minded and insane in the State of Texas.⁷⁵ This study not only presented statistical tables but a great number of photographs. Woven all thru the report are comparisons with the findings from similar investigations. When the final recommendations appear, they have as a background the publication of facts revealed by a survey of the local situation. An investigation of county almshouses and jails of Missouri;⁷⁶ an investigation of outdoor relief in Missouri;⁷⁷ a study of jails in California;⁷⁸ old age dependency in the United States;⁷⁹ the reports of a half dozen vice commissions; and many others serve the purpose of making the public conscious of definite social problems and situations.

The scope of these investigations is considerably expanded when we reach health, sanitary, school and church surveys. The investigation has then become more or less composite in its purpose and is always an investigation of a single community rather than a single social problem of many communities. A few citations will suffice to illustrate how these investigations are expected to accomplish publicity of social situations. *A Health Survey of White County, Illinois* is intended to discover for the community the facts concerning its health conditions.⁸⁰ The authors say: "We have many children in our public schools who are pale and anemic and who have, as we know, a family history of tuberculosis. . . . We feel that some definite steps ought to be taken in the matter of preventing further spread of the disease."⁸¹ In another connection they say: "The important facts contained in this report will not come as a revelation to many of the people of the area covered. Indeed, the advent of these two health agencies, undertaking this survey, was brought about by the real awaken-

⁷⁵Yoakum, C. S., *Care of the Feeble-Minded and Insane in Texas*, *Bulletin of the University of Texas*. Humanistic Series, No. 16.

⁷⁶Cross, W. T. and Forrester, C. B., *County Almshouses and Jails of Missouri*.

⁷⁷Warfield, G. A., *Outdoor Relief in Missouri*.

⁷⁸California State Board of Charities, 1916.

⁷⁹Synier, L. W., *Old Age Dependency in the United States; A Complete Survey of the Pension Movement*.

⁸⁰Foster, Dr. L. H. & Fulber, Miss Harriet, *A Health Survey of White County, Illinois*, 1-2.

⁸¹Ibid. 6.

ing of a number of the citizens of White County to the general insanitary conditions and, what is more important, to the lack of the realization of these conditions on the part of the rank and file of the people."⁸² And, finally, the last sentence of the report is: "With the survey made;—with the facts set forth clearly and frankly—it is up to the people of the community to determine whether they want better conditions or are content with those that exist."⁸³ *A Rural Sanitary Survey of Five Counties in Indiana*⁸⁴ serves the same purpose of discovery and publicity of social conditions. To these might be added citations from a number of urban sanitary surveys, housing surveys, and others, all to the same end and purpose.

Most school surveys have the same end in view. The most comprehensive school survey yet made is that of Cleveland, Ohio. The findings of this investigation are published in twenty-seven volumes. The Portland Survey, referred to above, is contained in one bound volume. Almost a hundred other school surveys are published in pamphlet or bulletin form. For the most part these surveys have been conducted for the purpose of finding the same facts, each for a different locality, or school system. And, for the most part, also, each has been conducted for the purpose of apprising the local community of facts of which the experts desired them to become conscious. Missouri is just completing a Rural School Survey at this time for the purpose of making the citizens of the state cognizant of rural school conditions. It is hoped and expected that the result will be a complete remaking of the rural school situation in the state.

The church surveys have been made for the same purpose, altho many such as those conducted by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions have a wider significance. To these so-called institutional surveys might be added the industrial, vocational, farm management and many other surveys. These latter, however, have largely been made by men who were seek-

⁸²Ibid, 8.

⁸³Ibid, 23.

⁸⁴Hurty, John N., Secretary State Board of Health, *Indiana Bulletin of Correction and Charities* 1914, 232.

ing research facts and so do not so well illustrate the point we have in mind, namely; that *before the composite social survey could appear there had to be developed a technique for arousing social interest in the group of facts which go to make up the composite social situation.* This bit of technique was a combination of science and journalism, the expert investigator plus publicity. At first it was the publicity of facts which were so abnormal as to have caught the attention of a certain portion of the public. This was followed by the publicity of facts with which the general public was very well satisfied, but which the expert saw to be none the less significant. When the public became willing to employ these experts and willing that the experts should publish the situation as they diagnosed it, then, and then only, were communities willing or even capable of being surveyed and ready for complete self-examination. When this last step was taken it became evident that nothing more than the correlation of all the methods which we have been discussing was involved. The unit of investigation was no longer the individual, the family, a chosen class, or a single social problem, but rather it was the community with all of its problems so interrelated and bound together that they needed to be studied as a unit. The survey needed to do little more than mobilize the knowledge each community had of itself. Numerous agencies had been gathering untold volumes of data concerning social situations, but the fact that each agency desired these data as a basis for some definite propaganda and had utilized them solely for that purpose had left the larger portion of them buried in their files or had caused them to be destroyed. The survey did little more than draft the social workers who gathered these data, mobilize that portion of the data which had been preserved, and set to work to rediscover and correlate the portion that had been lost. Kellogg summarizes the problem thus: "The survey takes from the physician his art of applying to the problems at hand, standards and experience worked out elsewhere. It takes from the engineer his concept of the structural relation of things, from the charity organization society its case work method of bringing problems

down to human terms.”⁸⁵ In another place he says: “The survey has to do with the phenomena imbedded in the common life of the people,” and again, “To visualize needs which are not so spectacular but none the less real is the work of the survey.”⁸⁶ Potter adds the following: “A distinction is made between an investigation and a survey. The investigation is a study of a problem that is a unit. The survey is a group of such investigations, the problems of which knot themselves together into a community problem.”⁸⁷ The most perfect illustration of this idea is The Pittsburgh Survey—the first great composite survey ever made—and, the Springfield, Illinois Survey, which followed and expanded the Pittsburgh method. Every special investigation in these surveys was as thoroly distinct as any one of the types discussed above. Every investigator was an expert in the field of his or her investigation. All investigations were under one director, however, and constant conference and cooperation between the different groups kept the survey a unit. Each expert applied the knowledge and experience previously gained in the study of many similar situations in learning about this one. When the final compilation of the knowledge concerning this community was made, however, it was greater than the sum of these individual investigator’s findings, for as Mr. Kellogg says: “We have counted our city populations regularly every ten years—in some states every five. We have known that the country has grown and spread out stupendously within the century, and that within that period our cities have spread out and filled up with even greater resistlessness. We have profited by incisive analysis of one factor or another which enters into social well-being—tuberculosis, infant mortality, factory legislation, public education, to name examples; and we have had the needs of our neighborhoods put forth by those who know them well. But there is something further, synthetic and clarifying, to be gained by a sizing-up process that reckons at once with many factors in the life of a great civic area, not going deeply into all subjects, but offering a structural exhibit of the community as a going concern.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵Kellogg, P. U., *The Social Survey*, 4.

⁸⁶Ibid, 15, 17.

⁸⁷Potter, Zenas L., *The Social Survey*, 1.

⁸⁸Kellogg, P. U., *Pittsburgh District*, 508.

CHAPTER III

The Technique of Social Surveying

The procedure of the composite social survey varies with the locality and with the purpose of the investigation. An expert who might be a director of the industrial section of an urban survey would probably be incapable of directing the farm management section of a rural survey. An expert school man might be out of place in a religious survey, and an expert sanitarian would not necessarily make a good school surveyor. The point is not that an expert may be called upon to analyse any sort of a social situation but that a director in whose hands the survey is placed may employ those experts best fitted to investigate the chosen elements of the composite.

Practically every method used by the social survey is also used in other investigations. Many of these methods, as we have seen, were used in other investigations long before the modern social survey was developed. The contribution of the social survey is that it is a composite of these methods. The Pittsburgh investigation was a survey because experts were assembled from the fields of charity, labor problems, housing, and health and sanitation. All the sources of information within and about the city were thrown open, and all the technique and technology of social investigation was utilized to analyze this industrial community. A sketch of this or any other comprehensive survey should suffice to illustrate the composite method of gathering, tabulating, and reporting a complete social situation. *These studies usually have four quite definite steps in their development: (1) the getting of a bird's eye view of the community, that is, seeing the field as a whole; (2) the differentiation of the separate fields for detailed investigation; (3) the gathering and tabulation of the data; (4) the report of the facts to the community and to the world at large.* The first step is accomplished in a number of ways, the simplest of which

is merely getting a population census of the community. At Pittsburgh a quick diagnosis of a score of phases of life was first made to get a view of the field as a whole. This was for the purpose of making a blue print, so to speak, of the community. Out of the knowledge obtained from this pathfinder investigation, which lasted from six weeks to two months, six deeper and more extended special investigations grew, namely; (1) an inquiry into hours, wages and labor organizations; (2) a study of household life and costs of living; (3) a study of five hundred cases of workmen killed, including an inquiry into hospital treatment; (4) a survey of women-employing trades; (5) a study of economic costs of typhoid fever; (6) a survey of child-helping institutions and agencies.⁸⁹ After the data had been gathered, and whenever possible while they were being gathered, the mapping, diagramming, and other statistical work were carried on by a special staff. The field investigation, which had been in operation all during the survey and even before it started, was then completed, thus accomplishing the ultimate purpose of the investigation. This purpose, as outlined by Mr. Kellogg, director of the survey, was, "That of making the town real to itself, not in a goody-goody preachment of what ought to be; not in a sensational discoloration; not merely in a formidable array of rigid facts. There was the census at one pole; and yellow journalism at the other." The publicity scheme was carried on thru the media of luncheon meetings, newspapers, magazine articles, pamphlets, exhibits, special issues of the Charities and the Commons, and finally by the publication of the complete survey in book form of six volumes.⁹⁰ Thus The Pittsburg Survey brought together practically all the methods of investigation which had developed up to that time.

Social description had aroused vague notions concerning many community problems, census taking had presented some cold statistics, case records had furnished a wealth of social information concerning the dependent portion of the community's population, special investigation had done somewhat the same thing for the whole country and had coupled with its data a

⁸⁹Ibid, 498.

⁹⁰Ibid, 508.

method of publicity. Not until the Pittsburgh Survey, however, had these methods of analysis and description ever been brought to serve a common purpose, namely; the purpose of making a given community self-conscious of its every day life, and of revealing to all other similar communities something of their social organization. This survey attempted to make an inventory of the whole community by discovering and revealing its many maladjustments and adjustments as a single social situation. The step it took, or the start it made in that direction has been followed by the directors of practically all surveys that have been made since. Indeed the beginnings made at Pittsburgh have been so consistently followed and improved upon that there can now be said to be a well recognized technique of social surveying.

Surveys are of many and various kinds and are made for many and various purposes. Very few surveys have attempted to be as complete as the Pittsburgh Survey, but consciously or unconsciously, all have followed in a general way its method of obtaining facts. But not all social surveys are composite or synthetic surveys. A very great percentage of them are what might be called "segmental" surveys; that is, a single set of institutions, facts or factors, is surveyed. Such are the school, church, industrial, housing, child welfare, and many other single problem surveys. In such surveys the procedure is necessarily modified. The four major steps in technique are adapted to fit the situation, whatever it may be, but are neither dispensed with nor violated. The bird's-eye view of the general social situation is just as necessary for the "segmental" survey as it is for the composite survey.⁹¹ This does not mean that a pathfinder survey, such as was the first step, in the Pittsburgh survey, must be made. It does mean, however, that the social surveyor must be sufficiently familiar with the community to be able to map out his plan of campaign, to make a blue print of the structure of the community's life. It may be that he has lived in the community so long that he already has the necessary knowledge. If this is not the case he may be able to get this knowledge from local agencies and institutions. He may have had sufficient experience in other similar communities so that

⁹¹McLean, F. H., et al, *Survey of Charities of City of Burlington*, 11.

he has a pretty thoro appreciation of this community and its problems. In any case he, as an expert, must recognize the necessity of a general prognosis before starting upon his detailed diagnosis.

The second step in the procedure of survey technique is more thoroly modified in the "segmental" survey than any of the other steps. In a single problem survey there is likely to be but one surveyor, or at least but one set of schedules. It might, therefore, seem that there could be no differentiation of task other than a division of territory. Even so small a point as this would probably be better served in the light of type of territory in conjunction with this or that type of investigator. No single problem survey—worthy of the name—is so simple as all this. It is not the purpose of a social survey merely to cover territory but to discover facts. In order to get these facts and be sure he has them exact, it is always necessary for the investigator to verify them, or even amplify them, from other sources. These sources should be known and consulted before the survey is begun. A pathfinder survey will discover them. A proper differentiation of tasks in the method of conducting the survey will make the maximum use of them. This fact should become clearer as we describe the method of gathering and tabulating the facts sought by the survey.

Where the survey is to be a comprehensive enough investigation to involve any large number of the citizens, it is generally preceded by a definite publicity campaign. For example, in the case of the Springfield Survey this publicity campaign preceded the field work by about three months, was continued during the entire investigation, and was greatly elaborated during the survey exhibit.⁹² The purposes of the publicity campaign are to enlist the workers and agencies of the community, to mobilize and generate sentiment for carrying on the investigation, to make it easier to gather the facts, and to prepare the community for the findings of the survey. One of the most important factors in a successful publicity campaign is to make large use of local talent. The greater the number of the community's citizens that can be enlisted in some phase of the sur-

⁹²Harrison, S. M., *An Effective Exhibition of a Community Survey*.

vey, the more ready will the community be to carry out the ultimate recommendations of the survey. The trustworthiness of the facts gathered by amateurs is not as great as if they had been gathered solely by experts, but the effect of these facts in the community is probably much greater, because of the community consciousness which has been awakened by the use of the amateurs.

Before the survey proper can begin, the machinery for the field work must be prepared. The making of the survey schedules is the most technical procedure antecedent to the compilation and correlation of the data, for upon the categories which the schedules contain depend wholly the quality and almost wholly the quantity of data that will be gathered. The type of schedule will reflect or show the type of survey to be made, the general knowledge of the surveyor, the facts discovered by the pathfinder survey, and the means by which the schedules are to be filled. If the survey is a composite investigation the sets of schedules will be as numerous as are the segments of the investigation. If it is to be a "segmental" survey, there will be but one set of schedules. In either case they can be adequately formulated only after the surveyor has made himself thoroly familiar with what there is to be known about the general field in which he is to operate. This knowledge he should have gained thru making previous similar investigations or thru published reports of such investigations. In the earliest surveys, and even today in the case of some surveys, the only possible source of information is the body of knowledge obtained thru the types of investigations already described. In rare cases it may be possible that he will have to fall back upon the theoretical body of thinking which has developed in that given field. The pathfinder survey should do much to give direction to the schedules. There is nothing which proves the need of some antecedent knowledge so thoroly as the experience that beginning surveyors usually have with schedules which are not properly prepared and so fail to gather all the facts. Fortunately this defect becomes apparent immediately upon beginning the survey and can be remedied, tho always, of course, at the expense of preparing new schedules or revising old ones.

The exact form of the schedule will depend also on the method by which it is to be filled. If it is to be mailed as a questionnaire, the categories will have to be less detailed and more explicit. If the schedule is to be filled by the surveyor himself, then it may be much more detailed and the categories need not be set forth in question form. In any case the categories must be so arranged and be so specific that the same data will appear in them no matter by whom they are filled. The best way of assuring this result is to seek quantitative or near-quantitative replies to all questions. It should be remembered that the survey attempts to be more than mere social description. Its categories, therefore, must be filled by other than mere descriptive terms. Such questions as "how much," "how many," "how often," "at what time," must be the rule. The surveyor is asked to limit his description to two or three terms, such as *good, fair, bad; dry, damp, wet; new, modern, old*; terms that can be reduced to statistical form in the process of tabulation. The surveyor may find this hard to do for various reasons. He may be filling his schedules from answers given him by people who have never before attempted to reduce their opinions or knowledge of the facts sought to such exact terms. In many cases the person questioned will be unwilling to give a definite answer. In such cases the surveyor will have to make his own decision, based on indirect or detailed questioning or outside knowledge. If the client insists on giving only qualitative answers, the surveyor is under the necessity of translating or converting these qualitative statements into quantitative form. There is always the possibility that the client will misunderstand the question and thus give the wrong information. Against this the surveyor can fortify himself in numerous ways; first, by keeping the categories of his schedules simple; second, by knowing enough about similar facts to instantly mistrust the information and thus correct the mistake by a question which will put his client right; and third, by checking his findings from other sources of information. In all cases, both in making the schedules and in gathering the data, the surveyor must keep in mind the fact that exact tabula-

tion and concrete presentation of his facts are the ends toward which he is working.

Some of the above statements suggest that there is an art as well as a science of social surveying. Such unquestionably is true. The whole technique of field work is an art. A wrong method of approach to the client may vitiate the whole schedule or fail to get it filled at all. The author believes as a general rule the best approach or introduction is to be obtained thru a frank statement of the purpose of the survey. If the project has been preceded by a well-timed publicity campaign, the approach will be easy. In no case can the investigator expect to get his data without some explanation of why he wants it. The surveyor is not a detective and the more frankly he states the purpose of the survey, the better the relationship he establishes with his client. Needless to say, there are some situations where such frankness would at once close the door of his opportunity. The client may be ignorant, suspicious, or openly opposed to the project. If ignorance is the obstacle, the surveyor will have to act as interpreter between the client and his schedule. If suspicion is the obstacle, he will have to be constantly on guard against wilful misrepresentation of facts getting into the record. If open defiance and protest is the obstacle, he may have to fill his schedule from observation or from other sources. Another possibility is that the client may purposely misrepresent the facts for the sake of some egoistic end which he thinks he can gain. Such a case can and should be checked thru other sources. The client also may forget some items which the surveyor from his previous knowledge may have reason to believe are present. Indirect and suggestive questioning will probably get the data tho the surveyor should be careful not to ask leading questions or in any way so formulate his questions as to get answers which the client would not honestly have otherwise given.

If there is a difference in the manner by which schedules are filled, some from one source and some from another, this difference should be marked and taken into consideration in the compilation of the complete data. For insistence cannot be too emphatically placed upon the need of accuracy in order that

the facts may be trustworthy and comparable. A schedule would better not be filled at all than to be filled inaccurately. In fact, it is highly improbable that all schedules can be filled. A schedule can at least do no damage when left blank. It is inevitable, also, that it will be more difficult to fill some of the categories of the schedules than it will be to fill others. It is quite probable in some schedules that some categories cannot be filled at all. If the purpose for which the schedule was prepared cannot be accomplished unless all categories are filled, then a special effort should be made to fill all the categories from one or another source. It is possible that the main purpose of the survey can be carried out, however, without all schedules having all their categories filled. Many schedules are prepared with a clear appreciation of the impossibility of filling all of the categories. Such a case is illustrated in a Child Welfare Survey under the author's direction at this time. Some facts which it is almost necessary to obtain concerning wage earners are asked for in one or two of the categories. The facts are difficult to get from salaried and professional people, and are being left blank in many cases. Altho it would be desirable to fill them, if possible, it is not felt that the particular conclusions which we shall later draw concerning the wage earner's families, from the facts tabulated from these categories, need be vitiated because we do not happen to have the facts concerning the salaried and professional classes. In some cases it may be deemed more advisable to make an allowance for different classes of people in this way than it is to have a separate schedule for each class. The data can be tabulated, and conclusions can be drawn from the number of categories filled with a definite understanding and statement of the percentage used in each case. Thru this method of procedure, few complete schedules need be discarded, for from each schedule can be chosen those categories which are adequately filled. All these facts the surveyor should bear in mind while he is filling the schedules. Two things he should keep constantly in mind: first, that he is gathering facts, not merely covering territory; second, that he is gathering these facts not merely for the sake

of having them gathered, but that they may be tabulated, collated, and made use of after they are gathered.

Before we leave the subject of field work, a word should be added about the technique of handling the geographical area. In a composite social survey and in many segmental surveys it is necessary to make a house-to-house canvass. In such a case, it is necessary to have some very definite and systematic technique for handling the geographical area. The author has found the block system to be the most universally satisfactory in handling territory. This is especially the case where more than one surveyor is working in the same community. In this system, each surveyor or any one surveyor at any given time surveys all the families or houses in one block. He never crosses a street, and thus never becomes confused nor runs any danger of duplicating territory. Another system is to district the territory. In this system the block method may still be used, or the surveyor may follow the streets from one boundary of the territory to the other, having some systematic way of handling the cross streets and alleys. In rural surveying the road system is probably better for two reasons: first, because country roads are not so systematically organized as city streets; and second, because it would be a great loss of energy to survey only the farms on one side of a road at a time. In surveys in which geographical area plays no part, of course, there is no need for such systematic organization. In such surveys a name or number is all that will be required for each schedule. The system of numbering schedules is of great utility for other reasons. There may be two sets of data concerning the same family or firm. Facts gathered from other sources concerning the family or firm can be indexed by the same notation, and thus all the related facts, from whatever source, and gathered upon no matter how many schedules, can be easily assembled for tabulation and analysis. The way this system works out is illustrated by a Rural Economic, Social, and Sanitary Survey being made under the author's direction at this time. In this survey there are three schedules for each farm and each schedule is in a separate investigator's hand. In addition to the survey schedules being filled, there are to be made two sets of water analy-

ses,—one a chemical and the other a bacterial analysis. By numbering an economic schedule, a social schedule, a sanitary schedule and each of the two water specimens as *Number 1*, there is no danger of confusion or mistake in assembling the data for farm *Number 1*. A few other systems of handling schedules and territory have been developed, but these few instances will serve as an index to the exactness and care with which the social surveyor seeks to buttress all his work.

Some indication has been given already of the significance of collateral sources which may be utilized in collecting facts. One of the most thoroly scientific steps in survey technique is the use of checks to ratify, amplify, or ramify the findings of the house-to-house schedules. Survey schedules are prepared with these checking sources in mind. The schedule of the Child Welfare Survey referred to above was planned, and certain categories were inserted, for the sole purpose of discovering other sources from which a more complete knowledge of the case could be secured. Such categories as: "The Physician or Mid-wife in Charge at the Time of Each Child's Birth"; "The Present Family Physician"; "Name of Father's, Mother's and Child's Employers"; "From What Source Charity Received"; and two or three others give the surveyor other sources from which he can get further data and by which he can check the data he has obtained in the house-to-house canvass. Public records of all kinds—marriage, and divorce records, jail and court records, tax records, and many others, should be examined. In short the records of all agencies and institutions which touch the family's life should be made use of. Physicians, teachers, pastors, charity agents, and policemen, should be consulted. The history of the community, and the geography or physiography of the community should be taken into consideration. Mental and physical tests of certain types or classes add much to the specific knowledge and interpretation of data. In short, no social survey has completed its task until it has thoroly studied the whole social situation in its origin, development and present status. This is why the social survey is and must be a composite investigation. It studies all the factors, phases, and

tensions of the community's life and utilizes all the sources from which any information can be obtained about the community.

From what has been said, it should be clear that the field work of the survey is by no means its most difficult task. Its most difficult task is the compilation and tabulation of the data and the presentation of results and conclusions to the community. In a survey of the magnitude of the Pittsburgh Survey or the Springfield Survey, the work of tabulation, compilation and correlation is turned over to a corps of expert statisticians. In less comprehensive surveys or in surveys made of smaller communities, the work will probably be done by the same persons who gather the data. This has both its advantages and disadvantages. The chief disadvantage is that the tabulation and correlation may not be done by persons who are thoroly skilled statisticians. The chief advantage is that the persons who filled the schedules are best acquainted with them, and thus may be capable, from memory or notes, of strengthening weak or defective data. In no case, however, should schedules and categories be included in the tabulation unless they are trustworthy. Even if it is necessary to eliminate whole schedules or categories from a number of schedules, the compilation should be made only upon those that are reliable. Conclusions can then be safely drawn from the body of data compiled, and the survey findings or exhibit can be presented to the community with the assurance that it is being apprised of its true social condition.

The method by which and the form in which the findings of the survey are presented to the community are fairly well standardized. The most universally used form of presentation is that of formal publication in book or bulletin form. The Pittsburgh Survey findings were published in six large volumes. The Cleveland Survey findings were published in twenty-seven small volumes. The findings of most "segmental" surveys and some composite surveys of small communities are published in a single book or bulletin. It is surprising how thoroly standardized the publications are. The different divisions of any given publication are very likely to follow the chief categories of the schedules by means of which the data were gathered. To say, therefore, that the publications are standardized is again to

assert that surveyors are using fairly well standardized schedules.⁹⁸

The different graphic methods by which surveyors present their findings will be discussed later. (Chapter IV). But in order that we may set forth a little more clearly the technique by which the community consciousness is awakened by the surveyor, it will be desirable to pay some attention to the *survey exhibit*. The more graphically the facts discovered in the survey can be presented, the greater will be their force and the wider the range of their acceptance. Surveyors whenever possible make great use of photographs, carton-graphs, and other pictorial methods of presenting their findings in their publications. Certain agencies, operating in specialized fields of endeavor, have for a number of years used poster exhibits as means of presenting the facts to communities. The Springfield Survey enlarged upon this bit of technology and presented the findings of that survey to the citizens of Springfield by an elaboration of that method plus a great many other methods. A description of this exhibit should be sufficient to explain the general technique of the survey exhibit. The Springfield Survey was a composite investigation in which twelve national agencies cooperated under the direction of the Department of Surveys of the Russell Sage Foundation. This survey in some ways demonstrates the fourth step—that of community publicity—better than any other yet made. Practically one-third as much money was spent in the survey exhibit as was spent in the total investigation. Newspaper agitation for community participation began three months before any exhibit committees were appointed. A complete census of “useful people”—later to be used in the exhibit project—was made. During this census, agitation continued until some eight hundred to one thousand people were enlisted in the exhibit project. The publicity reached to many nearby towns which were finally represented at the exhibit by officials, school officers, and other citizens. When the exhibit was finally put on, it was so arranged that

⁹⁸A study of survey publications would reveal about the same results concerning headings under which data and interpretations are presented as a study of schedules did concerning the standardized categories. See Chapter IV.

the spectators might pass in a steady stream before the different sectional exhibits. All forms of graphic representation were used so as to make it possible to grasp the ideas quickly. In addition to these graphic exhibits, five different plays, including seven casts and some two hundred amateur performers, were given. They illustrated different findings of the survey in comparison with ideal standards in recreation, charities, industrial conditions, and medical inspection. These plays were but fifteen minutes in length and were presented at half hour intervals. By all these means the surveyors literally placed Springfield under the microscope and allowed its citizens to look at it. Mr. Shelby M. Harrison in summarizing the project said, "Perhaps the six most distinctive features of the Springfield survey exhibition were: 1. The fact that it was based upon what many feel to be the most comprehensive survey yet conducted of a medium-sized inland American city. 2. The fact that it was organized by people of the city which was surveyed, and financed largely by them. 3. The exceptional quality of the mechanical work done by local volunteers in preparation of exhibits. 4. The charging of a ten cent admission fee, which probably lessened the total attendance but increased the opportunity for the careful examination of the exhibits by the thoughtful-minded. 5. The very considerable cooperation on the part of individuals, firms and organizations which made possible a much better and more complete exhibition than the actual budget would have covered. 6. The fine example of community team play in a purely educational affair, notwithstanding the possibility of disagreement as to the nature of the suggestions to be offered by the exhibits, the copy for which was prepared in New York without examination by the local committees."⁹⁴

In this brief account of survey reports and exhibits we have found practically all methods of statistical, graphical, photographic and other visual methods of representing social facts. The plays which were a part of the Springfield Survey exhibit are probably only an index to the panoramic methods which

⁹⁴Harrison, S. M., *An Effective Exhibition of A Community Survey*. Russell Sage Foundation.

will sooner or later be developed. The *pageant* which has been employed in many other educational and publicity ways will undoubtedly some day be used to present the findings of a great composite social survey. When this is done the community surveyed and the social workers and citizens of the country at large will, for the first time, see a social situation under the microscope. A community in miniature will pass before their eyes in order that they may see the actual interwoven, living tensions, forces, and factors of their common life even more distinctly than the experts saw it in their bird's eye view at the beginning of the investigation.

We shall now pass from the general technique of social surveying to what may be called *Survey Technology* or the detailed methods and elements of social investigation.

CHAPTER IV

The Technology of the Social Survey

There has been a rapid advance in recent years in the art and science of presenting data in graphic form. The American Society of Mechanical Engineers has attempted to establish a Joint Committee on Standards for Graphic Presentation. Pamphlets and books have appeared, setting forth the need and value of such presentation.⁹⁵ The social survey has made great use of these methods and has had no small part in developing them. For just as the social survey is a composite of many methods of social analysis and descriptions, so the survey method of gathering and presenting facts is a combination of many types of social technology which have been welded together into a composite survey technology. What we shall attempt to do is to trace each different element of survey technology from its individual development to its amalgamation with all other elements into a composite method of social investigation.

The best known method of presenting social facts, of course, is mere social description after having casually or carefully observed the facts or situations. No survey can, however, possibly state all its concrete findings thru mere description. To do so would be to write a case history of all families, institutions, or individuals surveyed. On the other hand, few surveys would be read that presented facts only in the form of statistical tables. The easiest way to be sure that the findings of the survey challenge the attention of the community is to present them, as it were, in picture form. It is highly probable that millions of dollars have been spent in gathering facts, the usefulness of which has been lost because the investigator expected them automatically to get results. The discovering of a fact is but the beginning, the first step, in making the fact effective. The last step is such a presentation of that fact as to

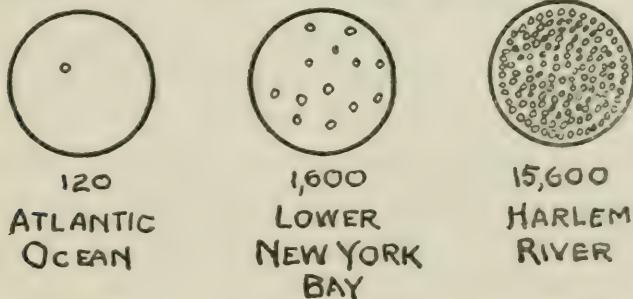
⁹⁵See especially Brinton, W. C., *Graphic Methods of Presenting Facts* (The Engineering Magazine Company, New York, 1914), and Harrison, S. M., *An Effective Survey Exhibit* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1916).

be assured of its being accepted by the community. Most facts become living, dynamic factors of a community's life only when the community becomes conscious of them. The nexus between a static, maybe submerged, and thus relatively dead fact, and a dynamic, living fact is a successful presentation of that fact, and the key to a successful presentation is an adequate technology for presenting facts. The way to get the greatest body of facts absorbed by the community is to present them in concrete, yet non-technical forms. If the presentation is in graphic form, the situation is often more accurately described than it could be in any other way, and, furthermore, there is no question about its being described in a language that is universal—the language of space perception. It is not our purpose to attempt an analysis of the function of space perception in the learning and knowing processes. But we are convinced that a thoro appreciation of the part played by graphic methods of presenting facts can not be had without a proper understanding of how large a part of what we know has been learned thru technology, which has reduced facts to space perception. For, so far as the writer knows, there is no other way of quantitatively presenting facts than thru space perception.

Besides the efficiency in getting facts accepted, resulting from quantitative representation, there is a great economy in the use of such technology for gathering facts. No investigator can remember all the individual facts he discovers. An efficient technology operates as a vehicle for retaining as well as obtaining *data*. Furthermore, such a retainer or tool gets all facts in the same form from no matter how many sources or thru how many investigators. The subjective and vague elements are eliminated because the facts all wear the same garb and are retained in the same retainer. A survey schedule, for instance, does not permit the use of varying or various descriptive words. It demands the checking of one of a few descriptive terms or a mathematical statement of facts. Facts gathered by means of such a tool are by right of this procedure reduced to types or groups, and a much larger body of facts can be assimilated by the community when reduced to and presented in such form. No community, nor even an individual, can as-

similate or comprehend a thousand individual facts, but a thousand or even a million facts can be comprehended if reduced to quantitative or graphic form. The following are examples of three different ways of presenting the same body of facts to a community, viz: "The water in the Harlem River is so thoroly polluted that it is a source of ill health in New York City." Such a sentence might very well appear in one of the metropolitan newspapers of the city at any time. Its effect would probably be nil because of the fact that all New York really believed it before the statement was made, and such a statement did nothing to make the facts more real to them. A second way of stating this body of facts might be as follows: "A bacterial analysis by the Metropolitan Sewage Commission has discovered that there are 15,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter of water in the Harlem River." Such a statement is thoroly scientific, in fact so highly scientific that it would probably mean nothing to most of the people who were affected by the pollution. A graphic presentation of the fact, such as the Commission used, would have much greater effect. It stated it thus:⁹⁶

BACTERIA PER CUBIC CENTIMETER OF WATER



Bacteria in the Waters of New York Harbor

Passing by for the time being some even more striking contrasts of this sort, we shall attempt to analyze and classify the different graphic methods which surveyors have used in their presentation of survey findings.⁹⁷ The simplest method is that of the statistical table, or a series of statistical tables. These

⁹⁶Brinton, W. C., *Graphic Methods of Presenting Facts*, 20.

⁹⁷The author has not confined himself strictly to survey reports, but has chosen graphs from many sources. The purpose is to show the possible use of such methods and to note the fact that social surveys are utilizing these methods.

tables serve as vehicles for condensing great bodies of facts, make these facts easy of comparison, and utilize and capitalize a method of evaluation which is appreciated alike by layman and expert. The United States Census Reports afford an example of the use of this method. The bulletins put out by the different bureaus of research add to the data of the decennial census those facts gathered in these special fields of investigation.

The extensive use made of these compilations and especially of such unofficial compilations as the World Almanac and similar popular source books, proves the great value and appreciation placed upon facts stated quantitatively or in terms of common mathematical values. No survey from Domesday to Pittsburgh has ever been made which did not make use of the valuable technology of *statistical tables*. The utter confusion, however, with which the common person labors over the census reports; the naive opinion of the layman on the one hand, that statistics, like scripture, can be quoted to prove anything, and the knowledge of the scientist, on the other hand, that truth does not spring uncaused from mere figures, are indicative of the weakness of mere statistics as means of gathering and interpreting social facts. Consequently, we find social workers and social scientists attempting to express these facts thru *media* which in themselves present not only the facts, but the correlation of facts and the interpretation of the social situation which the facts represent. Probably the simplest of these *media* is the *outline map* on which symbols are printed or drawn. These are given definite meanings and values by the use of appended descriptions and by their location on the map and state a correlation with the general geographical region and all that the reader happens to know about that region. These symbols can be made to represent the same facts that are expressed in statistical tables. The extension workers of the University of Wisconsin have made large use of this method in their surveys. Professor Carver adopted it as a method of recording and publishing some of the data that he and his staff gathered in the Rural Organization Service. In some cases he used such simple and yet expressive symbols as the following:

"Small dot—1 creamery; large dot—10 creameries."

"Small dot—1 cheese factory; large dot—10 cheese factories."⁹⁸ The dots are properly located upon the map and so give the observer the measurement and location of these industries at a glance. This type of map is used regularly in the government crop reports and many other bulletins.

The health investigation in White County, Illinois, referred to above, used the symbol of round dots to represent living cases of tuberculosis in 1915 and square dots to represent cases of death from tuberculosis during the same year.⁹⁹

A map of Turtle Mountain District, Canada, tells where all the churches and school houses of the district are located; whether the denomination is Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Holiness, or Roman Catholic; whether the churches are with or without ministers; whether services are conducted in churches or school houses; and the territory which each pastor or priest presides over. The number, distribution, and in some measure the function of the religious institutions and workers of the community are thus told in a far more impressive and dynamic way than a mere table or a number of tables of statistics could have told it.¹⁰⁰ The map equipped with some set of symbols has become an almost universal means of recording and publishing survey findings.

Closely allied with the map is the *detailed outline chart*, which attempts to describe and explain the functional relations of facts, the correlation of which is with some background, location, or condition other than the geographical one which is the chief correlation in the map. It may be so simple a thing as a chart for tabulating the same facts under two categories, rather than under one category as is generally the case in statistical tables. One set of data may concern the age, occupation, training, and so forth of individuals. These categories would stand horizontally at the top of the chart. The other set of data may

⁹⁸Carver, T. N., "The Organization of Rural Interests." *Year Book of U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1914, 244-7.

⁹⁹Foster, Dr. L. H. and Fulber, H., *A Health Survey of White County, Illinois*, 5.

¹⁰⁰Riddell, W. A., *Rural Survey of Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba, Canada*. Frontico.

be concerning the sex, nationality, physical condition, and the like, of these same individuals. These categories would stand vertically and to the left of the chart. The mere recording of facts by means of this chart points out a correlation and sometimes an interpretation of these facts.¹⁰¹

A much more detailed chart is one in which the functional relation of a great number of agencies and institutions is represented by a diagram. Such diagrams, are, for the most part, of two types, namely; those drawn from a single center like the ribs of a fan¹⁰² or spokes of a wheel, and those drawn in a square or circle in which the major or more comprehensive organization or agency is either represented at the top or surrounds all others.¹⁰³ Each of these types of charts gives opportunity for a description of each agency and its function in the space allotted to it. Such charts are literally social blue prints of the community in action. They do more to bring the social situation before the citizen of that community than the compilation of a hundred statistical tables would do.

Before we go further with the discussion of the exhibit of findings, we should probably give some consideration to the technology of gathering social facts. The first and easiest means employed in gathering data was that of merely observing the situation and printing or delivering, so far as the observer was able, a verbal photograph of what was seen. This type of social description has played a very minor part in social surveying and is destined to play a still lesser part in the future, except as it is absorbed into other types of survey technology. Following this perceptual and superficial method comes the *questionnaire*. The *questionnaire* is almost a universal method of gathering data. It finds out the same facts that are observed by the method just cited, but it attempts to gather these facts from a great number of communities, or to gather numerous facts in a particular community, and the results are always

¹⁰¹Vocational Education Survey of Minneapolis, Minnesota, *Bulletin of The Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Whole No. 199; vocational series No. 1.

¹⁰²Burr, W., "Community Welfare in Kansas," *Extension Bulletin* No. 4, 24, Kansas State Agricultural College.

¹⁰³White, E. V. and Leonard, W. E., "Studies in Farm Tenancy in Texas," *Bulletin of the University of Texas*, 1915; No. 21, 117.

answers to the same questions. The *questionnaire* may be used to ascertain the exact number, quantity, or measurement of phenomena, or it may be used merely to find out and tabulate what people think about these phenomena. It is used very extensively by the census bureau in making special investigations. It has been used to size up great national problems,¹⁰⁴ to find out the status of certain categories of teaching in American Universities;¹⁰⁵ to discover the educational status of certain groups of professional men;¹⁰⁶ to tabulate the public sentiment of a community concerning certain institutions and movements of interest within that community;¹⁰⁷ to make church and school surveys.¹⁰⁸ Probably the most extended and scientific investigation ever made by use of the questionnaire was that of scientific management by the late Professor Hoxie. Upon the findings of this questionnaire the author wrote a book of almost three hundred pages. This questionnaire, the findings of which formed the basis for all of Professor Hoxie's conclusions, contained seven hundred and seventy major questions. Some of these major questions had as many as nineteen sub-questions.¹⁰⁹

At the beginning of its development, the questionnaire was literally a correspondence survey. Lately, however, it has become also a surveyor's field book or schedule. The questions may be asked personally or indirectly, but the answers are recorded categorically. The value of the questionnaire depends upon the conciseness with which the questions can be and are answered. If the answer can be made absolutely affirmatively or negatively the tabulations are easily made. If the answers can be numerically made or if they can be weighted by the one

¹⁰⁴Report of The Commission on Country Life, 50-55.

¹⁰⁵Bernard, L. L., "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1909, and "The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1918, 496-511.

¹⁰⁶Taylor, A. W., "The Educational Status of the Ministry of The Disciples of Christ."

¹⁰⁷Taylor, C. C., "The Application of Inductive Methods in Social Investigation." (Master's thesis, Univ. of Texas).

¹⁰⁸Melvin, B. L., "A Rural Church Survey of Boone County, Missouri." (Master's thesis, University of Missouri).

¹⁰⁹Hoxie, R. F., "Scientific Management and Labor."

answering them or by the questioner himself, they are that much more valuable.

The regular and complete *survey schedule* is only a perfected questionnaire made to be used in personal inquiry. It can be filled out more accurately because the tabulator is always the same person. It generally asks such questions as, "How much?", "How many?", "When?" i. e., it seeks quantitative answers which can be readily and quickly tabulated in small space. It may be utilized to gather data from any source—personal inquiry, personal observation, the census, records of social and civic organizations, books or other surveys. It gathers and tabulates every fact that the questionnaire does, and gathers and tabulates it in a much more quantitative and accurate way. All valuations are usually made by the same person. If they are not, all answers are set down under the same rules and in the same categories. Many times the categories need nothing but check marks in one or another place or different kinds of check marks in a given place.¹¹⁰ The survey schedule is practically the "last word" in survey technology so far as gathering a comprehensive and composite body of data relating to a whole community is concerned.

The survey schedule is prepared to tabulate all the numerous questions to which the surveyor desires to obtain answers. These questions are first set down in great detail and separately. This is what Miss Richmond calls in a special sense a *questionnaire* because it raises all the questions which the situation might suggest.¹¹¹ These numerous questions are then reduced to types, and these types to schedules which may not ask questions at all but may be merely categories to be filled or checked. The categories or schedules under which the data are gathered vary with the type of investigations to be made and with the purposes of those investigations. There are, however, in the composite survey quite definite and universal methods and technology. There are some schedules, for instance, which appear in practically all surveys, especially all surveys that attempt to be comprehensive. The author has made a de-

¹¹⁰Felton, R. A., *Study of a Rural Parish*, 7.

¹¹¹Richmond, Mary E., *Social Diagnosis*, Chapter 20.

tailed study of eighty of these surveys, some of which are exceedingly specialized and others of which attempt to be comprehensive. The frequent appearance of certain categories suggest the possibility of developing a definite technology in social surveying. The schedules did not appear under these definite headings. The author has made synthetic headings but has been very careful not to violate the class of data which appears under schedules of other names than those used here. The frequencies of the schedules ran as follows:

Social organization and school condition	44
Community and civic organization	40
Occupation	38
Social and moral conditions	37
Religious life and organizations.....	36
Physiography	32
Health and sanitation	28
Population	25
Economic resources	22
Recreation	22
Family conditions	21
Homes (including housing)	19
Home economy	14
Age	12
Means of communication	11
Sex	9
Nationality	8
Social classes	6

Needless to say, there were dozens of individual schedules which appeared in different surveys. We have included only those schedules which appeared oftener than five times, i. e., in more than five of the eighty surveys. Some of the schedules were broken up into numerous sub-schedules, but were ultimately classified under the categories as we have detailed them. In surveys for particular purposes one schedule would often contain the major portion of the information, but the other schedules were considered necessary in order to get a complete appreciation of the general situation. A similar classification

could be made of the schedules of specific types of surveys such as school, church, or industrial surveys, which would serve to show how well standardized and differentiated the technology has become in special fields also. If this classification were made, the percentage of definite schedules would be much greater owing to the greater homogeneity of the surveys. Considered even as we have analysed them here, however, it is quite apparent that there is developing a survey technology which is destined to tell us much about the communities which have been studied which we have not previously realized.

When we examine the *published survey report*, which is the nexus between the material facts and the community consciousness of those facts, we find a still more highly developed symbolry. Even the social blue print as we have called the outline chart, will not suffice in this case, for there are many who care so little about the larger social facts of their community that they will not take the time to study even simple diagrams and charts. The *survey exhibit* and report must be a photograph, so to speak, of the social situation if it is to challenge the attention of any but the most thoughtful and enlightened citizens. The map, the chart and the graph must each play a part in presenting facts and situations in such a way as to make comparative values and standards easily grasped. The degree to which this can be attained, is well illustrated in the *Year Book of American Agriculture* (1915) by "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture,"¹¹² which gives a complete record of the amount and distribution of American farm products for the year 1915. All data are presented in *graph form*. Two principle forms are used, one of which is a map that is dotted with little black dots which literally cover some sections of the map and do not appear at all in other sections. A separate map is used for each type of product. The other chief form is a graph made of shaded lines or bars placed in horizontal or vertical parallels so as to make comparison easy. This latter graph is used in practically all survey reports, and is only one of a group of such representations. In some reports

¹¹²Smith, M.; Baker, O. E. and Hainsworth, R. G., *Year Book of American Agriculture*, 1915, 529-403

black squares are placed in comparison, in others a portion of a single square is colored or shaded to represent a body of data or a social situation. Circles may be used, segments of which are colored so as to force comparison. The plotted curve is a common method employed in the survey as well as in statistics. In many cases a number of curves are interwoven.¹¹³ Mere blocks of a uniform size may be presented in pyramids or other forms. Maps, bars, blocks, and circles may be shaded to a greater or less degree. Within these maps, charts, blocks or circles may be inserted cartoons picturing the thing which the graph is attempting to present. There are literally hundreds of these quantitative ways of expressing facts which make the facts understandable to citizens and yet keep them approximately true to the social situation as seen by the expert.¹¹⁴ Even the most subtle and subjective factors in community life are more completely grasped and fully appreciated when they are expressed in a graphic or some other quantitative way. The Oregon Social Hygiene Society has attempted to estimate the relative value of its various methods of publicity and education by taking "the distribution of one circular, after a meeting" as a standard, i. e., with a value of 1, and then judging the comparative value of twenty-one other methods of publicity and education by this, the simplest one of the methods. Of course, such estimates are not as accurate as inches and feet, ounces and pounds, but no one can doubt that there is a value in such a procedure. The following schedule of value is taken from the Oregon Social Hygiene Society's report:

"Attendance of one parent at a meeting—7.3," "Attendance of one teacher at conference or lecture—11.9," "One call at the advisory department—17.4," "The placing of one State Board of Health placard—26.7."¹¹⁵ If these values do nothing more than impress upon the citizen the relative merits of the parts he can play in these twenty-two methods of publicity and

¹¹³*The Cleveland Survey*, Vol. 10, 23.

¹¹⁴Vol. 10 of *The Cleveland Survey* alone presents sixty graphs of different kinds.

¹¹⁵"State Wide Education in Social Hygiene," *Social Hygiene*, Vol. II, No. 3. July, 1916.

education, they have accomplished more than would have resulted if no differential valuations had been attempted.

The most highly developed technology for graphically presenting facts is a *composite survey exhibit* of which we have a good example in the Springfield Survey Exhibit. Such an exhibit not only uses all forms of quantitative and graphic presentation but adds the technology of the stage by dramatizing the findings of the survey and presenting them to the community from the platform. The Chicago Vice Commission did somewhat the same thing when it hired actors and actresses to impersonate people and interpret situations which the commission had revealed. The play, which was thrown upon the screen of one of the leading playhouses of Chicago, probably did more to apprise the community of the findings of the commission than did the published report. A Visual Instruction Service has recently been established by the General Welfare Department of the Indiana University Extension Division and Texas University has a similar service. Forty-two Pennsylvania organizations and thirteen outside the state have united in an eleven booth exhibit of "The Feeble-mindedness Menace" under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Public Charities Association.¹¹⁶ The Child Welfare Committee, The Social Hygiene Society, The International Harvester Company, and a number of other organizations are making extensive use of graphic and pictorial exhibits. The Survey Magazine uses this technology continually as a definite part of its method of presenting facts. Practically all publications use it more or less. Nothing proves its efficiency and power better than the newspaper cartoon.

The ultimate form of the survey exhibit will undoubtedly include the *pageant*. The pageant has been used for some time to represent legends, historic facts, and to show the evolution of situations and ideas in literature. Recently it has been used to present educational ideals, ideals of Americanization, ideals of food conservation, and other ideals. The necessity of driving home these ideals to all the population has demanded the use of this highly dramatic piece of technology. An equal ne-

¹¹⁶The Community Center. Vol. II, no. ii, 16, February, 1918.

cessity of making the findings of a survey apparent to a community could easily result in the effective use of the pageant as an exhibit for some great composite survey. When this is done, the community surveyed and the social workers and citizens of the community will for the first time see a social situation under the microscope. A community in miniature will pass before their eyes in order that they may see the actual interwoven, living tensions, forces and factors of their common life even more distinctly than the expert investigators saw it at the beginning of their investigation. When this stage is reached, as it surely will be, scientific knowledge and social consciousness will have become mutual cause and effect, scientific knowledge and social enterprise will have become one, the social expert and the community will have joined hands to solve their common problems.

CHAPTER VI

The Possibilities and the Limitations of the Social Survey

In Chapter One of this thesis we sought to discover the criteria and ideals which the social surveyor has set for himself as an investigator of facts. In Chapter Two we attempted to trace the kinds of investigations which have been made in the name of social research. In Chapter Three we discussed the technique of field work. In Chapter Four we noted the different types of technology which have been used to measure, describe and report the findings of social investigations. In Chapter Five we discussed the methods and criteria of science, and cited some illustrations to the effect that the social survey approaches and, possibly, to some degree demonstrates a scientific method for sociological research. It is now our purpose to compare, as concisely and as briefly as possible, the general methods and criteria of science with the methods and criteria of the social survey, to check the methods of the social survey by the recognized methods of science and thus get some appreciation of the possibilities and limitations of the social survey as a scientific method of social research.

We know of no more definite means of comparing the methods of the social survey with the methods of science than that of stating, as definitely as possible, the criteria of science and then stating the demonstrated procedure of social surveys. *The first and most important criterion of science is that it be a method of exact and impartial analysis of facts.*¹¹⁷ The social survey, without a single exception, so far as the writer knows, has developed upon the basis of impartial analysis. It has developed practically outside the field of theoretical sociology and so has escaped altogether any preconceived notions which social theorists may have had. The case worker and other expert field

¹¹⁷Pearson, K., *The Grammar of Science*, 9; Poincare, H., *The Value of Science*, 137; Mach, E., *Popular Scientific Lectures*, 232; Enriques, F., *Problems of Science*, 67.

workers who have developed the method of the social survey have cared only for the facts which were actually operative in the community where they labored. They accumulated a large body of data for the sake of carrying on specific projects, with no thought of its scientific significance, but we have come to see that these data are the basic facts out of which social theory must be formed. These social workers and investigators have been not only impartial in their collection and analysis of facts, but they have also been exact in their methods. They were seeking these facts only because they wanted to use them for very definite purposes. These definite purposes demanded that the facts be exact, that they be representative of some very definite condition or situation, and that they be so specifically stated that other social workers would be able to understand and use them.

*The second criterion of science that we would name is that the phenomena which are the objects of investigation be typical, that they be representative of a species, a type, or a class of facts.*¹¹⁸ The social survey, as we saw in Chapter One, attempts to meet this criterion. Not all surveys have been made with the purpose of investigating or discovering typical situations, typical counties, or typical communities and typical sections of communities. Many of them, however, have specifically stated this to be their purpose. To what extent they have accomplished this purpose we shall probably be unable to state until a much greater number of surveys have been made. The only thing that we can definitely assert at this stage of development of the social survey is that many social surveyors hold it as their ideal to discover and reveal typical phenomena.

*The third and final general criterion of science is that it discovers or formulates scientific laws.*¹¹⁹ The social survey lays no claim to having accomplished this final step in scientific method. Social surveying is the task of the expert. The formulation of the laws of science is the task of the scientist.

¹¹⁸Pearson, K., *Grammar of Science*, 29; Poincare, H., *Value of Science*, 140; Mach, E., *Popular Scientific Lectures*, 194; Enriques, F. *Problems of Science*, 50.

¹¹⁹Pearson, K., *op. cit.*, 37; Poincare, H., *op. cit.*, 13; Mach, E., *op. cit.*, 156; Enriques, F., *op. cit.*

Since, however, few if any social phenomena can be taken into the laboratory, and since the social scientists are for the most part men whose time is occupied in academic pursuits, it would seem advisable that the social expert and the professor of sociology should form a coalition for working out a method of scientific research and analysis in the field of the social sciences. When this alliance is formed, the social survey will have accomplished the final step in scientific procedure, for the specific facts which the surveys have discovered will then be made over into correlated or collated facts, and the exact methods with which the surveyor operates will have furnished the social scientist with a much needed exact technique and technology.

Sociologists and social surveyors, whether they recognize it or not, are interested in the same field of phenomena. Professor Small's designation of the "Groups of Personal Wants" as; "(a) health, (b) wealth, (c) sociability, (d) knowledge, (e) beauty, (f) rightness"¹²⁰ is but a theoretical way of stating facts which could be and, in fact, have been surveyed. The attempt of Professor Giddings to classify human association into eight kinds of rational societies¹²¹ is but a theoretical way of accomplishing the same thing that the surveyor accomplishes by detailed study of communities. Nor has this common interest and direction of effort been altogether unrecognized. The findings of the social surveys are of immediate value to many courses in sociology. Practically all the courses which are taught in Schools of Philanthropy and many of those which are taught in the regular curricula of colleges and universities depend upon specific and detailed knowledge of the facts which the social survey investigates. It is to be hoped, and we believe it is to be expected, that the influence and value of the social survey method will not end with the courses in applied sociology but will extend to the theoretical courses in sociology. If the social survey discovers and reports exact facts, it should be a means of checking up on social theories and ultimately of furnishing the bases

¹²⁰Small, A. B., and Vincent, G. E., *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, 175.

¹²¹Giddings, F. H., *American Journal of Sociology*, 10, 167.

of more exact formulation of the scientific laws of social phenomena, and thus should lead to a scientific sociology.

No instructor in the field of applied sociology attempts to organize his courses or develop his field outside the body of data which has been furnished him by social surveyors or by those groups of social investigations which preceded the social survey and out of which the social survey has evolved. It was in the field of Criminology or Criminal Anthropology that the positive method in sociology made its first real progress.¹²² Practically all the knowledge and principles in the field of Social Pathology and other philanthropy courses have been furnished by case workers, social investigations of different sorts and recently by social surveys.¹²³ The comparatively new fields of Urban and Rural Sociology depend almost wholly upon the investigations and surveys for their body of knowledge. Especially is this true of Rural Sociology¹²⁴ because of the great number of surveys that have been made in the last five years.

The contributions of the survey do not by any means end with the courses just mentioned, nor do they end with the field of sociology. Education,¹²⁵ Economics,¹²⁶ and Political Science,¹²⁷ have all benefitted by these investigations. Some notable contributions have been made to the field of Ethnology by the far-reaching and suggestive extension of the survey method to the study of whole tribes and peoples. *The Veddás*, a survey of the people by that name, made by Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Seligmann and *The Torres Straits Expedition*, a composite survey of the Eastern Islanders of Torres Straits, conducted in

¹²²Whether or not the author accepts Lombroso's theories of crime does not vitiate the fact just stated.

¹²³See Nearing, S., *Income*; Goddard, H. H., *Feeble-mindedness*; Best, H., *The Deaf*; a survey of the "Cost of Living in the District of Columbia" (made by the U. S. Bureau of Labor); and literally hundreds of other investigations which in the past have contributed to the field of applied sociology and which today are keeping the body of data up-to-date.

¹²⁴Vogt, P. L., *An Introduction to Rural Sociology*.

¹²⁵Kirkpatrick, E. A., *Foundation of Sociology*, Chapter 20; Cubberley, E. P., *The Portland Survey*.

¹²⁶Nearing, S., *Income*; Streightoff, F. H., *Standard of Living*; Chapin, R. C., *Standard of Living*.

¹²⁷Allen, W. H., "Efficient Democracy;" and the many contributions of the Municipal Bureau of Research.

five sections, each under an expert in his field of reasearch,¹²⁸ are investigations which suggest that the social survey need not confine itself to any narrow territorial domain or community. In fact, the method of anthropological and archaeological research has practically always been more or less the same as that of the survey. The further back into the recognized and established fields of science the survey method can penetrate, the more quickly will it be accepted as a true method of science rather than as a mere fad or fashion.

A few illustrations cited from the two ethnological surveys just mentioned will serve to demonstrate the value of the survey method to bodies of knowledge which are fairly deeply entrenched in theoretical tradition. Seligmann made a definite psychological and physiological test upon a number of the Veddas. His scientific examination of their sense of vision, hearing and pain, made by means of modern scientific technology, serves to show how thoroly erroneous an accepted theory in a given field of science can be.¹²⁸ Volume VI, alone, of the Torres Straits Report contains three maps and seventy figures (photographs, plates and drawings). One of the maps is a topographical or physiographical as well as a social map.¹³⁰ It is as perfect a specimen in miniature of the situation under study as any enlarged graph or drawing of a zoological specimen could be. The graphs and plates, which are either photographs or drawings of the implements, instruments of magic, and other things, coupled with the vivid description, the material for which was obtained by living and talking with the people themselves and amplified by contributions from missionaries, traders and travelers, furnishes an authentic analysis of the life of one of the most primitive of peoples. A comparison of the findings of a few such surveys as the two cited would add more to the body of scientific ethnology than has yet been contributed to that field. Both the surveys made thoro and exact studies of types of social organizations. Rivers' gene-

¹²⁸Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Cambridge Univ. Press, London, 1908.

¹²⁹Compare Spencer, H., *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. 1, 76-77 with Seligmann, C. C. & B. Z., *The Veddas*, Chapter XVI.

¹³⁰Report of the Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. VI.

ological tables of the Murray Islanders is as perfect a scientific compilation as could well be imagined.¹³¹ What the findings of such surveys can do and have done in the field of anthropology and ethnology, they can do and probably are destined to do for any body of knowledge or field of research to which they are applied. And since the survey method is nothing whatever but the recognized and accepted comparative method of all science, the two steps needed to assure its application to the field of sociology are a desire on the part of the sociologist that it be applied and an experimental working out of technologies which will reduce observations to a comparative basis. The contributions of the social survey are limited largely by the measure of these two steps.

The influence of the social survey has been limited because of facts which we have already mentioned but which we may be permitted to refer to again at this point. The survey method has been developed almost wholly outside of the field of theoretical sociology. This has resulted in three very distinct things: (1) surveys have been made generally for propagandic purposes, i. e., as bases for community programs.¹³² (2) The fact that surveys have been made for local purposes has kept them largely confined to local, almost colloquial, situations. (3) They have been largely made by field workers who do not have the opportunity to know and thus appreciate national and world situations, which are of dominating interest to the sociologist. This last fact probably has more to do with the lack of unity of efforts of the investigator and the sociologist than any other one thing. The sociologist has at his command all the contributions of history, economics, political science, psychology, and biology. To him the study of society is the study of social evolution, social change, social progress, or, in a general sense,—social dynamics. Therefore, to him the social survey seems static in its method. It measures things as they are now. It refuses to generalize from things it cannot observe. It is purely inductive. The survey report may con-

¹³¹Ibid. See especially Pp. 78 and 79.

¹³²Burgess, E. W., *The Social Survey, a Field for Constructive Service by Departments of Sociology*, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXI, 492.

tain a chapter on *The History of the Community*, but this history will be a summary of growth of population, topography and similar purely tangible and measurable facts. The sociologist sees and knows that a sociology constructed out of such limited data would be quite different from any other social science if not different from all sciences.

What then must be concluded concerning the survey, the survey method, and the science of sociology? Two things we are already certain of, (1) that the expert investigator has for some time been furnishing the applied fields of sociology with a large portion of their data, and (2) survey findings have altered social theories in the field of ethnology and anthropology. It is probable that the same thing will happen in every field to which it is applied as a method of research. We may further conclude that the cooperation of the social surveyor and the sociologist should not and does not end with the influence which the expert has upon the theories of the scientist. Schools of philanthropy, which are literally departments of applied sociology, train experts by teaching them the fundamentals of the social sciences and the technique of field work. Teachers of sociology everywhere make more or less use of the community in which they teach as a laboratory. In large cities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Minneapolis departments of sociology have greatly assisted social agencies in their organization and used them as directing agencies for students who are doing field work. The University of Kansas, the University of Southern California, the University of Missouri, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Chicago offer courses in social surveying. Members of the extension divisions of a number of universities are now the leaders in their respective states, especially in rural surveying. A social survey of Fargo, North Dakota, was made by a sociologist upon the request of a local organization.¹³³ The Child Welfare Association of Columbia, Missouri, recently requested the Department of Sociology of the University of Missouri to make a survey of the condition of children in that city. The

¹³³Ibid, 494.

State Board of Charities asked the same department for a survey of Outdoor Relief in Boone County, Missouri. The first of these surveys is just completed and the second is under way. The field work has been and is being done by students in a class in "Methods of Social Investigation" in the university. Why should not all departments of sociology in leading universities train men and women to be expert social surveyors? These men and women would then in time turn back to these departments of sociology a large and reliable body of data which would be of the utmost value to the science of sociology. If the social scientist is to depend upon the social survey for his exact data and exact methods of measuring and reporting facts, he should be willing and anxious to assist in developing the social surveyor. When this is done, as it surely will be, the expert investigator will be capable of seeing beyond the immediate implications of his findings to their wider significance. And when he does this he will probably extend the survey beyond the local community to state and national, maybe world, situations and problems, as indeed the Rockefeller and Sage Foundations have already done.

In the final conclusion we should consider two weaknesses which seem to be inherent in the technique and technology of the social survey. First, the fact that the survey is highly inductive, has led to the objection that it will forever be limited in application by both time and place. It is asserted that it must thus confine itself to the present and future while there are many social situations the understanding of which demand an acquaintance with wide bodies of facts in both time and place. Second, some of these facts may be out of the reach of the surveyor because they demand a study of the history as well as the present status of the social situation. To base an objection on the first of these conditions is little short of foolish. No zoologist who asserts that he has a knowledge of the nervous system of frogs claims to have studied all the frogs' nervous systems in existence. He does not even assert that a frog might or does not have a nervous system different from the "nervous system of frogs" that he describes. All he asserts is that this is a typical frog's nervous system and that he

has reconstructed or described it after having studied a number—sometimes one number, sometimes another number—of frogs. The social surveyor sets for himself a no more difficult task than the exact scientist sets for himself, namely: to study a sufficient number of typical specimens.

Concerning the second condition, which seems to make the survey method a study of static conditions, we can but offer again the first sentence of this study, namely: "The social survey is new." If it analyses, measures, and reports things as they are today and tomorrow, these days will soon be the yesterdays of the many succeeding days to come and these findings will be the history of those new days' social situations.

APPENDIX

It is impossible in this appendix to offer any exhaustive display of *survey schedules* and *questionnaires*. We are offering three samples with the hope that they may serve as a basis for schedule construction. The discussion in Chapter Three deals with the general principles of schedule construction and attempts to set forth in some detail the value and methods of the use of schedules and questionnaires. The reader is advised to make a thoro study of a number of schedules before starting upon an investigation in which he expects to use this method of gathering data. Attention is called to four documents, specific citations to which can be gotten from the attached bibliography, which offer further samples schedules. These documents are, "Knowing One's Own Community," by Aronovici; "The Technique of the Social Survey," by Elmer; "The Study of a Rural Parish. A Method of Survey," by Felton; "A Method of Making a Social Survey of a Rural Community," by Galpin.

The three samples in this appendix are considerably different in their purposes and technology. *Sample 1* is a condensed schedule of a single problem placed upon a card that is easily handled by the surveyor and from which the data is easily tabulated. It was used for the purpose of sizing up a general situation in a fairly specific way quickly. *Sample 2* is also condensed in form but is fairly exhaustive in content. It is placed in the appendix as a sample of a schedule made from the viewpoint of the field investigator. Schedule I is prepared to collect the information that can be obtained from the "Approach to the House." Schedule II is prepared to collect the data gathered by the surveyor after he enters the house. Schedule III is prepared to collect further data from the outside of the house which data the surveyor could not obtain until after he had gotten on friendly terms with the occupant of the house. *Sample 3* is an elaborate schedule or questionnaire prepared to

make an exhaustive study of a single type of institution. It is prepared from the logical approach to the analysis of the situation. Twelve major questions are asked. Each of these questions is in fact a schedule but space is conserved by simply designating them by Roman Numerals.

The type of card or sheet upon which data are gathered is of significance for a number of reasons. The small schedule, four by six inches or five by eight inches is best in every way. It should be upon a light card board material. A schedule so constructed is not likely to be torn and it is not cumbersome to handle. Such a schedule, however, is more expensive than the full sized sheet upon which the questions can be mimeographed rather than printed or multigraphed. Furthermore the full sized sheet of a lighter material is better in case it is desired to use the schedule as a questionnaire to be filled by correspondence.

The two notes at the beginning of Sample 3 and the interlinear directions in Sample 1 are indices to the necessity of specific instructions which should accompany the schedules unless the director of the survey is in a position to give personal direction to the field work.

Sample 1.
CHILD WELFARE SURVEY

.....		Name of parents (Brown, John and Mary)	 If colored, mark with X			Street address	
.....		Number of children born to family.....			Number now living.....	 Number which died before birth.....	
Children Under 15	Yrs. of	Age	Yrs.	Mos.	Name of Doctor at Birth	In School?		Does Child Work?	What diseases has child had? If death resulted state cause
						Yes	No		
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
Mother's age..... Age at birth of first child..... Present occupation Wage.....									
How are children cared for in mother's absence?.....									
Occupation of father Wage Of mother's.....									
Name of family physician..... Name of father's employer.....									
Has family ever received charity? From what source?									
Where do the children play?									
Have any of the children ever been delinquent?..... What offense?.....									

Sample 2.

HOUSING SURVEY

SCHEDULE I—APPROACH TO HOUSE

- St. & No. Name of resident.....
- A THE HOUSE: Wood, stone, brick, shack. No. Stories.....
 Porch—G.F.B.* Back porch—G.F.B. Chimney—G.F.B. Spouting—
 G.F.B. Roof—G.F.B. Paint—G.F.B. Fire escape.....
 Yard sidewalk—G.F.B.
- B STREET: Paved, surfaced, dirt. Electric service.....
 Telephone service..... Distance to fire plug.....
 Street sidewalk—G.F.B.
- C LOCATION: Face street..... Alley..... Above
 or below street level. Water drain toward or away from house

 *G—good; F—fair; B—bad.

Sample 2 (Continued)

HOUSING SURVEY

SCHEDULE II—INSIDE THE HOUSE

- A ROOMS: No..... List rooms by use.....

 What rooms can't be reached without going thru bedroom.....
 Use other than sleeping to which bedrooms
 are put..... Beds per room.....
 Kitchen and Din. room separate..... Conditions of
 floors..... Walls papered, painted, neither. Does
 water enter thru roof..... From surface.....
- B HEATING, LIGHTING, VENTILATION: No. rooms heated.....
 Furnace, stove, grate. Condition of flue..... Cracks around
 doors..... windows..... panes missing.....
 No. rooms without windows..... Use..... Family
 sleep with windows open..... Any open now.....
 Light: gas, electricity, oil. Is house dark now..... Cross
 ventilation..... Have a telephone.....
- C PLUMBING: No. of sinks..... bath tubs.....
 indoor lavatories. Water flush—G.B. Lavatory ventilated—G.F.B. Con-
 nected with city sewer, cess pool. Plumbing leak.....
 where.....
- D BASEMENT: Earth, brick, stone, cement. Damp, wet, dry. Does
 overflow enter..... No. windows..... Used
 for storage, fuel, living room, sleeping room.....
- E OCCUPANTS: No. families..... dwellers.....
 lodgers..... Children under 12..... Over 12.....
 Family income..... Years lived here..... Expect to
 live here next year..... Why.....

HOUSING SURVEY

SCHEDULE III—OUTSIDE THE HOUSE

- A YARD: Size of lot..... Per cent covered by buildings.....
 Low, grassy, bare, littered up.....
- B OUTHOUSES: Stable..... Distance from house.....
 Privy..... Distance from house..... connected
 with sewer..... full..... screened.....
 water tight box windows..... how often
 cleaned.....
- C WATER SUPPLY: City water..... Indoor hydrant.....
 Outdoor hydrant..... Used by how many families.....
 Well..... Distance from house..... from
 barn..... from privy..... Does water drain
 into it..... walls tight..... how covered.....
 condition of cover—G.F.B. Cistern..... filter.....
 leaky.....
- D SEWAGE: Sewer line in street..... house attached.....
 trapped.....
- E SLUDGE: How kept..... how disposed of.....
 how often.....
- F GARBAGE: How kept..... how disposed of.....
 How often
- G RUBBISH: Where are tin cans, etc., placed.....
 Where are ashes kept..... how dis-
 posed of Manure pile.....
 how disposed of..... how often.....
- H ANIMALS: Horses, cows, pigs, chickens. Where kept.....

- I HOUSE: Owner of house..... Value \$.....
 Tax assessment \$..... Rent paid \$.....

Sample 3.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RURAL CHURCH SURVEY

Notes: 1. The word community means in general the territory covered by the membership.

2. Please give accurate statements and data where possible; otherwise approximate and indicate by underscoring.

I Date.....

Name of the church

Location..... Open country or village.....

Name of village..... Denomination.....

Date of organization..... Is building a union
 church?..... If so, what denominations use it?

No. of members at present..... 5 years ago

..... 10 years ago.....
 No. of members attending regularly now..... Non-
 active resident members..... No. non-resident
 members..... No. of members under 18 years
 of age; boys..... girls..... No. of families in
 church.....

II. ACCESSIONS DURING THE LAST FISCAL YEAR OF YOUR CHURCH—

By statement..... confession..... letter.....
 Total.....

III. LOSSES DURING YEAR—

By death..... by letter..... dismissal.....
 By dropping out of their own accord.....
 Net loss..... or net gain.....

IV. THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL—

Has church one?.....Is it a union S. S.?.....
 If so, what denominations?.....
 Average attendance..... No. of classes..... No.
 of separate rooms for classes..... graded or
 uniform literature..... Have a
 teachers' training class?..... No. of teachers who have
 had pedagogical training..... No. who have had Bibli-
 cal training.....

No. of church members who attend S. S..... No who
 attend between the age of 12 and 13..... boys.....
 girls..... No. below 10: boys..... girls.....

No. of months S. S. is open during the year.....
 Time open..... No. of
 organized classes.....

Amount raised for the support of the S. S. during the year
 By what means was it raised?.....
 Do any of the classes have socials?..... If so, specify
 the nature of these socials

.....

Did the S. S. as a whole have a social or picnic during the year?.....
 How many?..... How many did the separate classes
 have..... Do the older people attend these socials
 freely?.....

What seems to be the effect of these socials upon: (a) community
 morals..... (b) neighborliness
 (c) S. S. attendance

..... Does the S. S. have a baseball team
or other form of play?..... If so give its character
.....
Do any of the adult or senior classes study the life of Jesus in its re-
lation to modern social problems?.....
Equipment: No. of adjustable seats..... No. of dif-
ferent size seats..... No. books in S. S. library
..... Value..... Are books well se-
lected?..... No. of maps..... Blackboards.....
Type of books Are books read?.....

V. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETIES—

Has church one?..... Name.....
How often meet?..... Do members
of other churches attend?..... Nature of work at regular
meetings
Enrollment..... Average attendance.....
Do the older people attend?..... How many?.....
Amount of money raised during the year..... How
Raised
Does the society give any entertainments?..... If so, how
often?..... Any club work?.....
If so, of what sort?.....
Does it have any athletic or recreational work?..... What
sort?..... Is the social work
successful?..... What per cent of members attend?.....

VI. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS—

Is there a ladies' aid society?..... How often does it
meet?..... Nature of its
work..... Do its
members ever meet together merely for a good time?.....
Enrollment.....
Is there a missionary organization?..... Name.....
..... Nature of its work
..... Amount of money
raised per year..... How raised.....
How often does it meet?.....
Give any facts of other organizations as men's clubs, etc., if there are
any
.....
.....
.....

VII. THE PREACHER—

Name..... Age
 Is he a student?..... If so, where?.....
 Where is his home?..... Distance
 from this church..... Is he married
 Education: High school Normal school
 Denominational college.....
 Seminary..... University..... Is
 he a graduate of either?..... Which?.....
 Preacher's Library: No. of volumes..... On history.....
 Theology..... Sociology..... Agriculture
 General Science.....
 Literature.....

Has preacher had any training in Agriculture?.....
 Was he reared on a farm?..... No. years been
 preaching.....

Preacher's salary paid by this church..... By other
 churches for which he preaches..... Does he
 give all his time to preaching?..... Has he any other source
 of income?..... What.....
 Number of years been preaching for this church.....
 No. pastors this church has had in the last five years.....
 Does pastor favor missions?..... Does he favor lectures
 and other forms of public work in the church?.....
 What organizations is he a member of?.....
 What magazines does he take?.....

VIII. CHURCH BUILDING—

Value of church property..... No. of rooms in
 building..... Condition of the building.....
 When painted..... How long has church
 been built?.....

Method of heating..... of lighting.....
 any church debt..... if so, how much?.....

Do other organizations use church?..... How
 often during past year?..... What other
 organizations?..... Do you have
 lectures in church?..... Does church board approve?.....

No. hours per week church is used for regular religious services
 For other work.....

How large are the grounds?..... What
 condition?..... Are picnics ever held on the grounds?
 How often are the grounds used exclusively
 by the members of this church?.....

IX. CHURCH OFFICERS—

Number..... Names and ages.....

 How often meet (on call or regular).....
 Is record of meetings kept?..... What forces play the
 most part in the selection of officers? (moral worth, wealth, politics,
 willingness to serve, or could not find another).....
 Does the board or the whole church run the business?.....
 Do the members show any interest in the business of the church?
 How do they show that interest?.....

X. CHURCH FINANCES—

Is money raised by every member canvass or by subscription?....

 Or is some other method used?..... What?.....

 Are pastor's salary and all other expenses in one budget or separate?
 Pastor's salary.....
 Is it up to date in paying?..... How much behind?.....
 Amount given to missions and benevolences: foreign missions...
 Home missions..... Be-
 nevolences..... church extension.....
 All others.....
 Does church receive outside help?..... If so, how
 much?..... For what?.....
 From whom?..... When?.....
 Total amount raised during last fiscal year.....
 Did church have any building expenses?..... How
 much?..... Do the wealthier members bear a pro-
 portional amount of the church expenses?.....

XI. THE PREACHING SERVICE—

Preaching how often?..... No. of
 other churches the pastor serves..... Where
 located

 Where does pastor live?..... Does pastor
 give any week days to pastoral work?..... If so, how
 many?.....

Does the church have preaching as often, oftener or less often than any time in the last ten years?..... Give change, if any..... How many revival meetings in the last five years..... Total number of accessions..... Percentage of them from S. S. Per cent of these accessions remaining faithful at present..... Pastor or evangelist hold meetings..... No. of accessions at regular services during past year..... Are there any attractions in community that prevent church attendance?..... If so, what

XII. THE COMMUNITY—

No. of churches in radius of four miles..... Names

Any abandoned churches in radius of four miles?.....How many?

Names

Causes of abandonment

Do members put their membership with other churches in the community?.....

Are there any families in your church part of whom are in some other church?..... No. of such families.....

What other church or churches are represented in such families?.....

Is there inter-church attendance?.....Is denominational strife present?..... If so, in what churches.....

In what is your church making most noteworthy progress?.....

Are there any men's clubs or other organizations near the church?..... Name.....

Where is it located?.....

Does this club do any form of community work?.....

If so, give nature of their work.....

Do the members co-operate with your church as an organization?.....

Does the church desire to co-operate?.....

Average value of land in your community.....

No. of families in your church who own their homes.....

No. of tenant families in your church..... Does the membership of your church remain fairly constant or fluctuating?

How many families have moved from this church in the last five years?..... How many families

have gone to town or city..... How many young men have gone from this church to town or city in last five years?..... How many of your members live in Columbia?*

Value of best home owned by any of your members.....
Value of best farm

Distance of church from nearest town.....
Name of town

No. of members who own automobiles..... No. owning driving vehicles..... Do old or young people go to town to church most?..... How does the attendance of old and young people compare?.....
..... Has the automobile increased or decreased the church attendance?..... Has the automobile increased the number of trips to town?..... To what town do they generally go?..... Are the roads leading to the church generally good or bad?..... Is there a country store near?..... Do people congregate here for discussion?.....

Write any additional information that you think might be of interest

*Columbia is the county seat town.

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